REFLEXIONS

On the CAUSES of

The RISE and FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

M. DE SECONDAT, C. de, K

BARON DE MONTESQUIEU.

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THE

PRINTER to the READER.

THE learned author of this work having fallen into two or three miſtakes in relation to the Roman money, I ſhall take the liberty of pointing them out to the reader, to prevent his being miſled by ſo great authority. That we may be the better underſtood, it will be neceſſary to open the ſubject a little from the beginning.

Pliny [*a*], who is the moſt particular on this head, tells us, that, from the time of Servius Tullius, till the year 485, braſs was the only coin among the Romans; *viz.* the *as* of a pound weight, with ſome other pieces, which were ſubdiviſions of it; as the *triens*, of *four* ounces; and *quadrans*, of *three* [*b*].

[*a*] Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

[*b*] Pliny ſaies, on one ſide of the *as* was the head of Janus; and on the other, the beak of a ſhip, *Roſtrum navis; in triente vero, et quadrante* RATES. And yet we find on the *aſſes*, which are now remaining, much the ſame form of the fore part of a ſhip, as on the *trientes*, and *quadrantes*. How then was *rates* the diſtinguiſhing mark of the two latter? The late worthy Preſident of two literary Societies, and an ornament of every other, obſerved to me, that he was inclined to think Pliny for *rates* uſed the word *rationes*, or ſomewhat like it, to denote the *rate* or value, which was at firſt ſtampt *only* on thoſe two coins, before any lower diviſions of the *as* were coined. For thus we find four round balls expreſſed on the *triens*, ſignifying four ounces; and three on the *quadrans*, ſignifying three. The words of Pliny will thus be very clear: *Nota æris fuit ex altera parte Janus geminus, ex altera roſtrum navis; in triente vero et*

When ſilver was coined, A. U. 485, *viz.* five years before the firſt Punic war, the *denarius* was ſo called from its being worth ten *aſſes*, or pounds of braſs; *quinarius* worth five; and *ſeſtertius*, worth two and an half.

About A. U. 490, in the firſt Punic war, the *as*, from a pound, or xii ounces, was leſſened to *two* ounces; and the *denarius* was ſtill worth only x *aſſes*; the *quinarius*, v, &c. as before.

A. U. 537, forty-ſeven years afterwards, the *as* was diminiſhed to one ounce, and the ſubdiviſions of it in proportion; and ſixteen of them were now made equal to a *denarius*, as they continued ever afterwards.

A. U. 576 [*c*], when Papirius Turdus was tribune, the *as* was reduced to half an ounce.

From this general view of the alterations of the braſs and ſilver coin of the Romans, the reader will naturally aſk, What can the Baron mean, when, from the authority of a paſſage in the Moſtellaria of Plautus, he would prove,

quadrante rationes, i. e. All the braſs coin had on one ſide the head of Janus, on the other the beak of a ſhip; but on the *triens* and *quadrans* [the only ſubdiviſions at firſt ſtampt] the value moreover of each was expreſſed. Ovid, Faſti, i. 429, confirms this ſenſe, where, ſpeaking of this very circumſtance, he uſes *cur navalis forma*, and *cauſa ratis*, as terms promiſcuous. He knew no difference between *navis* and *ratis*, on the coins, which was thought to diſcriminate them in the age of Feſtus.

[*c*] The editions of Ainſworth place it 586, when Papirius Carbo was prætor.

that

that in the firſt Punic war a ſoldier's pay was *ſix ounces* of braſs a day, which he calls in the note *three aſſes of ten ounces* [*c*]. And yet it is certain, as we have now ſeen, that no *aſſes* of ten ounces were ever coined. We muſt ſuppoſe then he intended to ſay, what ſome others have advanced from the ſame authority of Plautus, that the pay was at that time *three aſſes* of *two ounces*, *ten* of which *aſſes* were equal to a *denarius*.

Ubi ſunt iſti plagipatidæ, ferritribaces viri?
Iſti, qui TRIUM NUMMORUM cauſâ ſubeunt ſub falas?

"Where are thoſe fellows, who ſubmit to be "ſhot at for *three* PIECES a day?" But here, if with Lipſius [*d*] and the Baron we ſuppoſe by *nummi* to be meant *aſſes* of *two* ounces each, it is inconſiſtent with the age of the poet, who wrote under the ſecond Punic war, when the *aſſes* were reduced to *one* ounce. If with Puteanus [*e*], that aſſes of *one* ounce are meant, it is inconſiſtent with Polybius, who tells us (as we ſhall ſee preſently) that the pay was at this time *five* aſſes of one ounce: and it is not likely he ſhould ſpeak of *aſſes* which prevailed in his own age, and of a pay which was in uſe before. Againſt both it is contended, that Plautus always uſes *nummus* for the *ſtater* or two drachms [*f*]; but undoubtedly never for

[*c*] Ch. xvi. p. 221.
[*d*] Elect. i. 2. [*e*] De ſtipend. mil. c. 3.
[*f*] See particularly Plaut. De Pſeudol. iii. 2. 19. and

the *as*. In ſhort, the paſſage in Plautus has nothing to do with the ſoldiers pay: it is manifeſtly corrupted, and ſhould probably be read thus, as a very ingenious friend has obſerved to me:

Ubi ſunt iſti plagipatidæ, ferritribaces viri?
VEL iſti, qui trium nummorum cauſa ſubeunt falas?
Ubi illi, qui quindenis haſtis corpus transfigi ſolent?

That is, "Where are the ſlaves, the GLADIA-"TORS, the ſoldiers?" The laſt verſe may be a compliment to the bravery of the Roman legions, which was then greatly diſtinguiſhed. But whether it is ſo or not, the ſecond line has not the leaſt reference to their pay. Whatever is here meant by *nummi*, it is a ſum far above the ſoldiers pay at that or any other time. If we take it for a *drachma* (as Plautus, *we* preſume to ſay, always uſes it; unleſs *aureus*, or *Philippeus*, is mentioned, and then it is the half *aureus*) inſtead of *five aſſes*, it is forty-eight a day. Or, if for a *didrachma*, as Gronovius imagined, then twice as much. The Baron was miſled by Lipſius, or rather by the Delphin editor of Plautus, who very roundly applies this paſſage to the ſoldiers. It is ſtrange that Gronovius, in his edition, ſhould let Lipſius's note paſs without any notice of the miſtake in it, ſince, as we have ſeen, he ex-

Salm. De modo uſur. c. ii. Rab. Schelius, De ſtipendio milit. c. iii. Gronov. De pecun. vet. p. 123.

preſly

preſly ſays elſewhere, that *nummi* always ſignifies *didrachmæ*.

Having then ſet aſide the authority which miſled the Baron, let us ſee what clearer light hiſtory affords us, towards forming a judgment of their pay, under different periods of the republic.

The Roman foot firſt received pay at the ſiege of the Veii [*g*], U. C. Var. 347, and (as Livy has been underſtood) the horſe three years afterwards [*b*]. But he tells us, Servius Tullius [*i*] had deſigned for the horſe a yearly pay before. How ſhall we reconcile this? The eaſieſt anſwer is, That at the ſiege of Veii, the horſemen or equites provided their own horſes [*k*], as the Epitome of Livy expreſſes it, and as it probably ſhould be read in the hiſtory itſelf. Before, a horſe was ſupplied by the government at 10,000 *aſſes* for ten years (that being the time preſcribed for ſerving in the army before they could enjoy any office [*l*] at home) and the horſemen's pay was 2000 *aſſes* yearly; but afterwards 3000 *aſſes* were paid to the ſoldier, and he procured a horſe at his

[*g*] Liv. iv. 59. v. 4. [*b*] Liv. v. 7.

[*i*] Ad equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduæ attributæ, quæ bina millia æris in annos ſingulos penderent. Liv. i. 43.

[*k*] Tum primum equis [ſuis] merere equites cœperunt. Liv. v. 7. the very words uſed in the Epitome.

[*l*] Polyb. vi. 17.

oven expence. The full pay of the cavalry is called *triplex ſtipendium* [*m*], it being three times as much as was paid to the foot. Gronovius [*n*] therefore concludes the pay of the latter was originally a M *aſſes*, when they were at xii ounces each (which is two *aſſes* and $\frac{1}{3}$ of an *as* per day, reckoning, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, 360 days to the year) and that this continued the pay till the ſecond Punic war.

And yet it is not without probability that Schelius collects the yearly pay was originally, or at leaſt before the ſecond Punic war, MC *aſſes* in the year, ſomewhat more than three *aſſes* per day. In proof of this, it is obſerved, that at the end of that war, during which the horſe, from a ſenſe of the diſtreſs of the State, rejected [*o*] all pay for ſome time, Porcius Cato adviſed the ſenate to reſtore it to its ancient ſtandard, and to give them 2200 [*p*] *ære* or *aſſes*. He takes no notice of the other third part of the pay, which perhaps had been continued without any interruption. Gronovius,

[*m*] Liv. v. Polyb. l. vi. 33.

[*n*] De pec. vet. l. iii. 2.

[*o*] Manavit ea privatorum benignitas ex urbe etiam in caſtra: ut non eques, non centurio ſtipendium acciperent; mercenariumque increpantes vocarent, qui accepiſſet. Liv. xxiv. 18.

[*p*] Nunc ego arbitror reſtitui oportere ne quo minus duobus millibus ducentis ſit ærum equeſtrium. Catonis *orat. ap. Priſcianum*, l. ii. Read *quo ne minus*, as Liv. xxxiv. 6.

with

with ſomewhat of diffidence, thinks *æra equeſtria* cannot ſignify 2000 *aſſes to be paid to the horſe*, but 2000 *horſe*, i. e. loca, or ſtipendia ærum, as *miles* xx *ærum*, a ſoldier who has received twenty years pay. In which ſenſe Cato's motion was, that they ſhould put 2200 horſe on the eſtabliſhment. But ſince *æs* is ſometimes uſed for the *as* (viz. *mille æris legaſſe*, Varro, L. L. viii. *Modius datur ære quaterno*, Mart. xii. 62.) circumſtances particularly lead us to think it uſed ſo here. The number of cavalry varied according to the number of legions raiſed, 300 to a legion: ſince thoſe depended on theſe, it was needleſs for Cato to propoſe multiplying them. There was no ſettled ſtandard, except of pay, to which he could want them to be *reſtored*. The very neceſſity which induced the forces to relinquiſh pay, obliged the State to keep up the number of them; and we find the war carried on during the three laſt years of it, with xx, xvi, and xiv legions [*p*]. When times were mended, the propoſal was natural for reſtoring the pay to its former rate, not for augmenting the troops.

Here, if I may be allowed ſo ſmall a digreſſion, Gronovius, in reply to Salmaſius, ſaies there were more *equites*, or knights, under king Servius, than under the ſecond Punic war. He ſaies ſo on a preſumption, that many were *knights*

[*p*] Liv. xxx. 2. 27. 40.

by *eſtate*, who had not pay, nor a *public horſe* aſſigned them. And to the ſame purpoſe, the laſt learned writer on the Roman Senate, that many received *pay*, who were not knights. "The "title of *equites* was not given indiſcriminately "to all thoſe who ſerved in the *Roman caval-* "*ry*, but to thoſe only, who, by their eſtates, "were placed in the equeſtrian claſs [*q*]." *Cavalry*, and not *equites*! what name then ſhall we find for them? He means, though they were *cavalry* or *equites*, they were not all of the *equeſtrian* order. But we will preſume, againſt Dr. Chapman, Gronovius, Sigonius, and other great names, in the firſt place, that though many might have the qualification for knights, the *cenſus equeſtris*, yet none were ſo, till they were placed on the eſtabliſhment by the cenſors, and had a horſe aſſigned them at the public expence. 2*dly*, That the *Roman* or *Legionary* horſe, till the time of the Social war, conſiſted of none but ſuch knights ſo eſtabliſhed; a ſtanding militia, who ſeem to have been admitted by the cenſors to a third part of pay, an allowance for a public horſe; till they were drawn out as occaſion required, and put on whole pay, *æra equeſtria*, by the conſuls. This we have formerly obſerved on another occaſion: but for further proof of it muſt now

[*q*] Dr. Chapman, p. 16.

refer

refer to Schelius, in his Comment on Hyginus in Grævius's Theſaurus, vol. ix. and to Grævius's Preface in vol. i. To return to our ſubject:

Under the ſecond Punic war, the pay was, as Polybius tells us [*r*], two *oboli* a day. The *obolus* was the ſixth part of a *drachm* or *denarius*, now raiſed to xvi *aſſes*; conſequently two *oboli* were ſomething above five *aſſes*, *i. e.* $\frac{1}{3}$. But this was as near as Polybius could expreſs it in his language, and perhaps he did not intend any greater preciſion. So that, inſtead of *three aſſes*, or *ſix oz.* of braſs in the firſt Punic war, the pay was *five aſſes*, or *five oz.* in the ſecond, as the Baron deſcribes it; in weight of braſs diminiſhed a ſixth, in number of *aſſes* raiſed above a third; inſtead of a HS. and half an *as*, it was now a HS. and an *as*; inſtead of 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* in the year, now 112 $\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* Pliny [*s*] ſaies the *denarius*, when raiſed to xvi *aſſes*, in the ſoldiers pay was ſtill valued at x only, *i. e.* in regard to their *former* pay of 1000 *aſſes*, upon every *ten* they received *ſix* additional *aſſes*; in the year 660 *aſſes*, and an advance of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* or 40 *aſſes* more; making in all 1800 *aſſes*. Or take it in their daily pay, when the *denarius* went for *ten aſſes*, the ſoldier had *three aſſes* per day; when for *ſixteen*, he had *five*, i. e. he was paid juſt in the ſame

[*r*] Lib. vi. 37. [*s*] Nat. Hiſt. xxxiii. 13. ed. Hard.

manner,

manner, as he was before the *asses* were reduced. Polybius and Pliny say the same thing only in different words. If, lastly, we should say, that the pay was originally 1125 *asses*, and that 675 were added to the new pay, to make up the value of the old, *viz.* 112½ *den.* it would be more exactly conformable to Pliny. So that without any variation in silver, instead of an old *den.* of x *asses*, the soldier received a new *den.* of xvi. And what hinders this from being the case? The passage in Livy, concerning the pay of king Servius's horse, admits of various interpretations, and might be no precedent for the foot 150 years afterwards. Cato, as is usual in round numbers, might designedly omit mentioning the odd parts above the hundred: in this very speech it follows, *De duobus millibus asses in est*; when his words before were, *quo ne minus duobus millibus* DUCENTIS. 'Tis certain Livy [t] alludes to the pay of 112½ *den.* even before silver was coined. He saies, the Campanian knights, who refused to join their countrymen in their revolt against the Romans, U. C. Var. 414, had each a yearly pension assigned them of 450 *denarii*; which is exactly four times 112½; the pay of the foot, as we have

[t] Liv. viii. 11. Denarios nummos quadringenos quinquagenos, i. e. of English money, 15*l.* sterling reckoning the denarius at 8*d.*

seen,

ſeen, under the ſecond Punic war; and we now add, perhaps under the firſt. Scaliger throws out *denarios*, and underſtands *aſſes*. Mr. Hook, following him [*u*], ſaies the penſion was *near thirty Shillings*;—a poor reward for ſo ſignal fidelity. No, the Romans aſſigned them for life a quarter more than uſual pay, and made the revolters raiſe it. See the procedure againſt the Latin colonies, Liv. xxix. 15. If we leave out *denarios*, it will be hard, I believe, to find *nummos* uſed for *aſſes*.

This continued to be the pay in ſilver thro' the remainder almoſt of the republic; though the *as*, U. C. Var. 576, being ſunk to half an ounce, the pay (in number of *aſſes* ſtill the ſame) in weight was only 2½ *oz.* Julius Cæſar [*w*] doubled it. Accordingly the ſoldiers in a mutiny under Tiberius complain that they hazarded their lives for *ten* [*x*] *aſſes* a day, or v *oz.* which is 3600 *aſſes*, or 225 *denarii* in the year. Harduin, ſtrangely miſtaking the paſſage in Pliny, makes the pay advanced to a *denarius* a day under the ſecond Punic war: which leaves no room for Julius Cæſar's *doubling* it, and ſo contradicts the teſtimony of

[*u*] Rom. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 393.

[*w*] Legionibus ſtipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Suet. Cæſ. xxvi.

[*x*] Tacit. Annal. i. 17.

Suetonius

Suetonius as well as of Polybius. Say, Julius Cæsar raiſed it to a *denarius*. Then, inſtead of *doubling* it, he made it above *triple* to what it was. Unleſs we ſuppoſe, that, when the *as* was reduced to half an ounce, the pay was eight *aſſes*, or iv ounces per day; in the year, 2880 *aſſes*, or 180 *denarii*; and that Julius Cæſar made it 360 *denarii*.

But this ill agrees with what Suetonius [y] and Zonaras [z] relate, who, compared together, prove three payments in the year of lxxv *denarii* every *four* months, ccxxv in the whole; and that a fourth payment was added by Domitian of lxxv *den.* in all ccc *den.* or 4800 *aſſes*, paid at four equal payments, every *three* months, which is, as the Baron obſerves, 13⅓ *aſſes* per day, *i. e.* twelve *aurei* per annum, as before there were only *nine*.—Here then we may reaſon backwards, ſince 225 *den.* was the pay before Domitian, it muſt have been only 112½ before Julius Cæſar doubled it. It is further obſervable, that though we conſider the pay of the ancients, as we do that of the moderns, at ſo much per day, yet it was paid by even portions, every three months, four months,

[y] Addidit et quartum ſtipendium militi, aureos ternos. Suet. in Domit. vii.

[z] Πάλιν γὰρ ἡ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ καμβάνοντος ἑκατὸν ἐτέλεσε δίδοσθαι. Zonar. l. xi. c. 19. p. 580. ed. Par.

or

or twelve months. The ſeveral regulations then will ſtand thus:

	den.	aſſes per day	per ann.	den.
From Servius Tullius	12	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1000	
First Punic war	6	$6\frac{1}{11}$	1100	110
Second Punic war U. C. 576	$5\ 2\frac{1}{2}$	5	1200	120
Julius Cæſar	5	10	3600	225
Domitian	$6\frac{2}{1}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$	4800	300

I have added the eſtimates of the *as* and *denarius*, becauſe I do not ſee how a judgment can be formed of the value of the ſoldiers pay under the different periods in braſs only, without taking into conſideration the proportion it bore to ſilver. And I have purſued this ſubject the rather, becauſe Mr. Kennet, who is often commended to ſave the trouble of examination, treats it with great inaccuracy: telling us, That after Julius Cæſar doubled the pay, Auguſtus raiſed it to *ten aſſes* a day, and Domitian to XXV: he would ſay, Auguſtus to XXV *den.* per *month*: and Domitian to XL *aſſes* per *day*, deſigning to follow Lipſius, who puts the *den.* at X *aſſes* under Polybius, and at XII under Auguſtus; but to all the errors in him, he adds confuſion of his own.

Having entered thus far on the Roman money, ſhall I preſume to ſubmit one or two paſſages on this head in the Baron's larger work, to his ſecond conſideration? If they are ſmall miſtakes,

miſtakes, I am ſure no writer has more excellencies to counterbalance them.

He thinks [*a*], againſt the opinion of ſeveral authors, that the law obtained by L. Valerius Flaccus under Sylla, and mentioned by Paterculus [*b*], related to the leſſening of intereſt, not to the diſſolving part of the principal. The Romans called twelve per cent. *aſſes uſuræ*; therefore *quadrans*, he thinks, ſignified a fourth part of that intereſt, or three per cent. He ſaies, "Quadrans cannot ſignify a *fourth part* "of the *principal* according to the language of "the Latin writers; in that ſenſe they ſaid, "*tertia et quarta pars*, not *quadrans*." Under favour, I would aſk (1) what ſhall we think of this paſſage, *Fecit palam te ex libella, me ex teruncio* [*c*]. Whatever ſum was here bequeathed (for which the reader may conſult Gronovius) it is plain a principal ſum is ſpecified, not an intereſt. So in Martial, l. xi. 51.

Mittebas libram: QUADRANTEM, Garrice, mittis:
Saltem SEMISSEM, Garrice, mitte mihi.

Again, l. viii. 9.

Solvere DODRANTEM nuper tibi, Quincte, volebat
Lippus Hylas: nunc vult ſolvere dimidium.

[*a*] L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxii. c. 22.

[*b*] In hujus locum ſuffectus Valerius Flaccus, turpiſſimæ legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem ſolvi juſſerat: cujus facti merita eum pœna inter biennium conſecuta eſt. Paterc. l. ii. c. 23. [*c*] Cic. ad Attic. vii. 2.

The

The commentators may interpret the laſt two paſſages of intereſt, but he that conſiders them impartially will make a different judgment. For (2) ſo far is *quadrans*, &c. from being the language of the Latin writers for *intereſts*, that it is rarely or never ſo uſed in the ſingular number, if we may believe two great maſters [*d*] in this and every other branch of literature; and one of them aſſigns a very good reaſon for it. The Romans computed their intereſt by the month, whence Horace [*e*], *triſtes miſero venere kalendæ*. It was often paid, however, only half yearly, ſo that one payment contained the intereſts of ſeveral months. Thus *aſſes uſuræ* was one per cent. per month. Conſequently, *quadrantes uſuræ* (not *quadrans*) was the fourth part of that intereſt, or three per cent. per annum. (3.) The conditions of this Valerian law are deſcribed in Salluſt [*f*] thus: *Ac noviſſime memoria noſtra propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis,* ARGENTUM ÆRE *ſolutum eſt*. It is plain that *ſolvere quadrantem* in Paterculus, is the ſame with *ſolvere argentum ære* in Salluſt. Now if *aſſes*, a braſs coin, were paid for *ſeſterces*, a ſilver coin, at that time worth iv aſſes, a fourth part of the

[*d*] Salm. De modo uſur. c. vii. Gronov. De pec. vet. l. iii. c. 13. p. 225.

[*e*] Serm. l. ii. ſ. 17.

[*f*] Bell. Cat. § 34.

principal was paid for the whole. But ſuppoſe *quadrans* to ſignify three per cent. or a fourth part of *aſſes uſuræ*, it will be impoſſible to reconcile it with ARGENTUM *ære ſolutum*. The Romans denominated all their rates of intereſt by *aſſes*, and the ſubviſions of the *as*; is it poſſible they ſhould deſcribe the lowering ſuch *braſs* intereſt (if I may uſe the term) by ſaying they paid braſs for SILVER? A late learned Editor indeed of Cicero's *Familiar Epiſtles* [*g*] maintains, that Seſtertius *is not, as is commonly underſtood, the name of any particular coin*. He is not the only perſon who has been of this opinion: Sperlingius [*b*] went before him in it. It is however undoubtedly a falſe one; the paſſages we have been examining are alone a clear confutation of it: the repreſentations of this piece of money in books with the mark IIS, and the cabinets of the curious, will further give him ocular conviction; in particular, I believe, that repoſitory of learned curioſities, which is open to all the lovers of them, and which ſupplied him with the MS. of theſe Epiſtles. But what I would moſt recommend to the Reader's admiration on this occaſion is, the happineſs of our numerous tranſlators of Salluſt in the paſſage before us. The beſt of them diſ-

[*g*] Vol. i. p. 452.

[*b*] De nummis non cuſis, p. 229, 230.

cretely

cretely ſlides over the difficulty:—*in conſideration*, ſaies he, *of the univerſal preſſure of debts, public authority intervened; and with the unanimous voice of every good citizen, the creditors were obliged to take a compoſition.* He leaves out, what his original tells us,—*of five ſhillings in the pound.* The author of a *free* tranſlation ſaies, *braſs was made to paſs in payment for ſilver,* WEIGHT FOR WEIGHT. He had better have gone no further than *word for word.* The *as* was at this time half an ounce, the *denarius* the ſeventh of an ounce, and worth xvi *aſſes*: ſo that braſs was to ſilver as 1 to 56. conſequently the compoſition of the debtors would, at this rate, amount to not above 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* in the pound: and if the money pound was, as is uſually reckoned in round ſums, 100 *denarii*, it would not come to ſo much. A compoſition, which the legiſlature would hardly have been at the trouble of ſaving; but would with a better grace have cancelled the debt.

In the former law we have braſs offered us for ſilver, a ſimilar fraud has deceived the Baron, with many others, in the interpretation of the Voconian Law. Few monuments, he obſerves, have reached us of it [*i*], and as it has hitherto been ſpoken of in a moſt confuſed manner, he

[*i*] L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. 1.

will endeavour to clear it up. "The Voconian "law, he ſays, was made to hinder the women "from growing too wealthy; for this end it "was neceſſary to deprive them of large inhe-"ritances, and not of ſuch as could not give "riſe to luxury. Thus we find in Cicero "(Orat. againſt Verres, l. i. 41.) that women "were rendered incapable of ſucceeding to "thoſe only who were *rated high in the cenſor's* "*books*. *Qui cenſus eſſet*, which Dio explains "of him who had *a hundred thouſand*, i. e. "of him who had the *firſt cenſus*, as we may "ſee in Livy, l. i. and Dion. Halicarn." Now, with ſubmiſſion, here ſeems ſomething of that uncertainty and confuſion, which moſt other writers have fallen into, who have treated of this law. 1. Cicero is ſuppoſed to ſay, that women are prohibited from ſucceeding to thoſe only who were *rated high in the cenſor's books*, without ſpecifying what that high rate was, which laid them under this incapacity. 2. Dio is ſaid to explain this high rate at *a hundred thouſand*, and yet to leave his reader in the dark whether it was ſo many pounds or pence. And 3. it is interpreted by the Baron (not by Dio) to be one who had the *firſt cenſus* according to Servius Tullius's inſtitution. Now that was c thouſand *aſſes æris gravis*. But Dio's words, in the age he wrote, were clear and determinate

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for a different *ſum* and a different *ſenſe*; who ſays the law forbad women ὑπὲρ δύο ἥμισυ μυριάδας κληρονομεῖν [*k*], *to inherit above two myriads and a half* of DRACHMS, for that was the coin the Greek [*l*] writers always underſtood, as the Latin writers did ſeſterces. The Romans therefore would call this ſum c thouſand *nummi* or ſeſterces, which, at 2 *d.* each, amount to 833 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of Engliſh money. How the learned Baron could extract from DIO c *thouſand* any things, without underſtanding *ſeſterces*, as he ought, is not very conceivable. It muſt be obſerved then, 4. that the law in Dio does not limit the ſum which the *teſtator* was to be *worth*, but that only which the *heireſs* was to *inherit*; which was abſolutely (without regard to the teſtator's high or low rate in the cenſor's books) c *thouſand* HS.

But it was Aſconius, who, on the paſſage cited from Cicero [*m*], impoſed on the Baron. Cicero, entering upon ſome arbitrary proceed-

[*k*] Dio, l. lvi. p. 578.

[*l*] If the reader doubts of this, beſides the paſſages cited by Perizonius on this ſubject, Diſſ. ii. p. 144. 169. 171. he may conſult the learned comment on the Marmor Sandvicenſe, p. 29, 30. But Plutarch in Antonius is expreſs: μυριάδας ἐκεῖλ ἑνὸς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δεθῆναι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι δεκίες καλοῦσι, *twenty-five myriads* [of drachms] *the Romans called decies*, or 2 million HS.

[*m*] Cic. In Verrem, l. i. Act. ii. c. 41.

ings of Verres in his prætorſhip, ſays [*n*], "P. "Annius Aſellus dying when C. Annius Sacerdos "was prætor, *and not being regiſtered in the cenſor's books*, made, as nature directed, and the "law allowed, his only daughter his heireſs." Of the words *neque cenſus eſſet* Aſconius offers two interpretations; one that which I have now given; the other (*inconſiſtent* as well as *falſe*) that which the Baron, after many other learned men, has unwarily adopted [*o*]. This interpretation of Aſconius is *inconſiſtent* with itſelf, becauſe it ſuppoſes thoſe to be meant in the Voconian law who were worth c *thouſand ſeſterces*, and yet to be the ſame who under Servius Tullius had the firſt cenſus, and were rated at c *thouſand aſſes*, a ſum, which, when the Voconian law paſſed U. C. Var. 585. would amount only to xl *thouſand ſeſterces*. It is *falſe* on many accounts: 1. It is contrary to Dio's clear and determinate ſenſe of the law. 2. It ſuppoſes c *thouſand HS.* to be ſufficient to raiſe a man to the firſt claſs, at a time when

[*n*] P. Annius Aſellus mortuus eſt, C. Annio Sacerdote prætore. Is cum haberet unicam filiam, *neque cenſus eſſet*, quod eum natura hortabatur, lex nulla prohibebat, fecit ut filiam bonis ſuis heredem inſtitueret.

[*o*] *Neque cenſus eſſet*] Neque centum millia *ſeſtertium* poſſideret; nam more veterum *cenſi* dicebantur, qui *centum millia* profeſſione detuliſſent: hujuſmodi adeo facultates *cenſus* vocabantur. *Aſcon.*

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it would ſcarce be ſufficient to place him in the loweſt. The very year in which this law was paſſed, it was ordered, that thoſe citizens, who were not poſſeſſed of land in the country worth xxx *thouſand ſeſterces*, beſides money and eſtates in town, ſhould be paſſed over unregarded in the cenſus [*p*]. The next year L. Paullus, the father of Scipio Æmilianus, is ſaid to have died not rich, though he left [*q*] above lx talents, or, as Plutarch, xxxvii *myriads* [of drachms.] Much leſs could c *thouſand ſeſterces* be deemed a fortune in Cicero's time. Auguſtus, it is obſerved, hearing that ſome who were baniſhed, lived too high, debarred them from poſſeſſing more than cxxv *thouſand ſeſterces* [*r*], indulging them even under a reſtraint of indigence a greater ſum than Aſconius makes a mark of opulence. But what effectually overthrows this interpretation, P. Annius Aſellus, who is here ſaid *non cenſus*, was, as appears from this very oration, a ſenator. Now the loweſt qualification in Cicero's time was (if we may conclude from what it was under Auguſtus [*s*],

[*p*] Liv. xlv. 15. [*q*] Polyb. p. 1427. 1454. 8vo. Plut. in vit.

[*q*] Μητ' ἰσίαν [ὑπὲρ δώδεκα ἢ ἡμίσεσιν] μυριάδας ἴσχειν, ne plus quingentis millibus nummûm poſſideret. Dio, anno 764. Sylburgius's edition has by an unlucky miſtake left out the words included crotchets.

[*s*] Suet. in Aug. c. 41.

DCCC thouſand HS. Servius's diſtribution of the people into claſſes, upon which Aſconius's interpretation is founded, had long ſince received great alterations [*t*]. Another diſtinction prevailed of three *orders*, Senators, Knights, and People, ariſing likewiſe from different eſtimates of wealth. Whence Livy [*u*], under the ſecond Punic war, joins *cenſus* and *ordines* as terms in ſome reſpect equivalent.

After all, the reader will aſk, why did Cicero inſert ſo uſeleſs a circumſtance concerning Annius Aſellus, that he was not enrolled, *neque cenſus eſſet?* When the Voconian law paſſed, each citizen was obliged to be enrolled as often as a luſtrum was held by the cenſors, that ſo he might be entitled to pay his juſt proportion of taxes. By laying then a reſtraint upon all who were enrolled at the laſt luſtrum, and ſhould be ſo for the future [*w*], it laid a reſtraint on every citizen. But it was ſoon evaded two ways, either by a man's making over his eſtate to be held in truſt for an heireſs, as in Cic. De finib. ii. 17. or by neglecting to be

[*t*] See Livy, i. 43. and this author, c. viii.

[*u*] Edixerunt conſules, ut privati ex CENSU ORDINIBUSQUE remiges darent.—Hunc conſenſum ſenatûs equeſter ordo eſt ſecutus, equeſtris ordinis plebs. Liv. xxvi. 35, 36.

[*w*] Sanxit in poſterum, qui poſt A. Poſthumium, Q. Fulvium cenſores cenſus eſſet, ne heredem virginem, neve mulierem faceret. Cic. in Verr. l. i. 42.

enrolled,

enrolled, as it is here alledged of Aſellus. The inconveniencies which attended this expedient at the making of the law, the degeneracy of the times ſoon removed. After the Macedonian war was ended, when taxes ceaſed, and the cenſor's office was remiſly executed [*x*]; when Marius enliſted into the legions, citizens of the loweſt claſs, eſtimated only *per capita*; when the very office of cenſor was intermitted for ſixteen years, as it was in the time of Cicero [*y*]; when enrollment became no longer a proof a man's being even a citizen [*z*], the law of courſe grew quite obſolete [*a*]; and the *Perpetual Edict* of the Prætor (which was made ſo U. C. Var. 686.) totally aboliſhed it, allowing to women the right of ſucceſſion without reſerve [*b*]. Auguſtus, with a different ſpirit from that which occaſioned the Law, revived in ſome meaſure the reſtraint in it. The late civil wars having exhauſted the ſtate of its ſubjects, that emperor paſſed the Julian Papian Law, by which thoſe women only were en-

[*x*] See L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxiii. c. 21.

[*y*] See Aſcon. in Cæcil. Divinat. c. 3. This interminſion may be traced in the Faſti Capitolini, U. C. 667—683.

[*z*] Cic. pro Archia poet, c. 5.

[*a*] Obliteratam et opertam civitatis opulentia. Noct. Att. xx. 1.

[*b*] So Tribonianus tells us § 3. Inſtit. de leg. agn. Succ.

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titled to legacies, who by being mothers had contributed to repair their country's loſs. So that this was not (as the Baron after Dio thinks) *a diſpenſation of the prohibition of the Voconian law* [c] then ſubſiſting, but a branch of that obſolete law revived and new modified.

I have advanced little more than what Perizonius has obſerved in his *Diſſertation* on this law [d], which Grævius has abridged in the orat. againſt Verres before cited. Since their day many learned men have treated of this ſubject, and yet have neglected to enjoy the light afforded them. Is it not ſtrange to ſee Mr. Hearne, at the end of his Livy, ſweat through three or four pages under difficulties, which had been cleared up to his hands in the Diſſertation which he had elſewhere made uſe of in his Notes on that hiſtorian? The prime miſtake has got poſſeſſion of our dictionaries, and, with many others, will probably long continue there. We are told from Aſconius that *cenſi* ſignifies men poſſeſſed of c thouſand *ſeſterces*, which, as we have ſeen, he ſaies indeed, and unſaies, and is not true whether we underſtand HS. or *aſſes*; but only ſignifies *eſtimated* in the cenſor's book, without regard to any certain *rate*.

[c] L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxxvii. c. 1.
[d] Daventriæ 1679.

I would

I would here diſmiſs this ſubject; but it muſt not be diſſembled that I ſee one particular will be objected to by Dr. Chapman, before cited, who maintains "that *no eſtate* was pre-"ſcribed as a neceſſary qualification for a mem-"ber of the ſenate before the time of Au-"guſtus[e]."—He allows however, that, "as "the queſtorſhip was in the *latter* ages of the "commonwealth a kind of neceſſary ſtep to the "dignity of ſenator; and as few perſons could "obtain even that, without the aſſiſtance of that "power and influence, which is the natural "conſequence of a great fortune, it is certain-"ly true in fact that the houſe was filled with "men of the largeſt property [e]." A conceſſion ſufficient for our preſent argument againſt Aſconius: but ſtill, as this is a matter of new enquiry, I would beg leave to ſubmit to that learned author one or two conſiderations. 1. He ſuppoſes the original qualification of the equites, *viz.* c thouſand *aſſes*, to have continued till the time of Roſcius Otho. Servius Tullius, dividing the people into ſix claſſes, placed the equites at the head of the higheſt, which was rated at one hundred thouſand *aſſes*. Therefore, it is concluded, they were all along

[e] Gruchius imagines it introduced by Julius Cæſar. De comitiis, i. c. 4.

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of an eſtate of that value [*f*]. But what ſort of qualification ſhall we think ſo ſmall a ſum was, at a time when (as we have ſeen before) xxx thouſand *ſeſterces*, or cxx thouſand *aſſes*, would entitle a citizen to be only of the loweſt claſs; at the time this Voconian law was made, when many a common citizen was under the temptation of leaving a daughter or niece four times as much, beſides a proviſion for his ſon? If the old qualification preſcribed by Servius Tullius was what the cenſors were to attend to, it would of courſe have been obliterated before Roſcius, juſt as the Voconian law was, by the growing opulence of the city. There was then, *in effect*, either no qualification required during great part of the republic, or a higher. U. C. 539, in the fifth year of the ſecond Punic war, the conſuls by an edict required all thoſe, who at the foregoing cenſus poſſeſſed, or had ſince acquired from 50,000 *aſſes* to 100,000, to provide one ſailor for ſix months; all from 100,000 to 300,000, to provide three for a year; from 300,000 to a million, five; all above, ſeven; and the ſena-

[*f*] Dr. Chapman on the Roman ſenate, p. 17. It is certain U. C. Var. 351, ſome qualification was preſcribed to the equites. *Quibus cenſus equeſtris erat.* Liv. i. 7. One would be tempted to think the knights had even now a higher cenſus than the firſt claſs; it is not ſaid, *primæ claſſis cenſus*, but *cenſus equeſtris.*

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tors eight. We ſee from theſe five *claſſes* (the ſixth being only *capite cenſi*, and contributing nothing to the charges of the ſtate) that Servius's *claſſes* were quite changed; and that, placing the equites next to the ſenators, inſtead of c thouſand *aſſes*, they were worth a million, which, when the cenſus was taken, was 400,000 HS. the very rate appointed for them *afterwards* by Roſcius Otho. How then did that knight merit ſo well of his order, when he fixt the cenſus of it at 400,000 HS. It muſt be obſerved, U. C. 537, before this contribution, exigencies were ſuch, that the *aſſes* were reduced xvi to a denarius, and the cenſus probably (ſtill rated by the ſame number of *aſſes*) ſunk above a third; till Otho raiſed it to its former ſtandard by eſtimating it in ſilver, *i. e.* reckoning ten *aſſes* to the denarius, as Pliny ſaies was *always* done in the pay of the ſoldiers. This poſſibly is the key to the paſſage before us, which the two polite writers on the Roman Senate, have turned contrary ways, that they might unlock the difficulty. Dr. Middleton ſaies, from hence "it is CERTAIN the Senators generally, in theſe "early times, poſſeſſed a much larger propor- "tion of wealth than even DCCC thouſand SES- "TERCES." It is *certain* he has falſly taken HS for *aſſes*, and raiſed every ſum above twice as hig

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as he ought [g]. Dr. Chapman fetches out the eſtates of the ſenators *to amount at a* MEDIUM *to* 1,040,000 *aſſes*, or 416,000 HS. "Now "the firſt ſenatorian cenſus (ſays he) under "Auguſtus was, on the authority of Dio, but "400,000 HS. whence the reader may judge "of the *improbability* of its being greater by "16,000 HS. at a time when the Roman "riches were ſo comparatively inconſiderable, "as *under* the ſecond Punic war." If he means, at the time when the contribution was made, his number of *aſſes* amounts only to 260,000 HS. He ſhould have ſaid, juſt *before* the commencement of the ſecond Punic war. For it appears that the eſtimates here mentioned were taken U. C. Var. 534, when that war was ſcarce begun, and after the republic had been ſuperior to its moſt formidable rival in a former. Now under Auguſtus, Dio ſaies, p. 540. the *ſenatorian cenſus* was *fixt*, i. e. ſunk to 400,000 HS. *in conſideration of the calamities of the civil wars*, which as they pull a nation back for many years, might well induce that emperor to lower the Senatorian cenſus to what the Equeſtrian was before. But low as theſe Senators

[g] — qui ſupra trecenta millia uſque ad decies ÆRIS, quinque nautas; qui ſupra decies, ſeptem; ſenatores, &c. Liv. xxiv. 11. *that thoſe who were rated from* 2400 *l.* 8000 *l. ſhould furniſh five ſailors*, &c. Middleton. Rom. nate, p. 102. He ſhould have ſaid *from* 1000 *l. to* 333 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* &c.

eſtates

eſtates can poſſibly be brought, it is a far more reaſonable ſum than that to which the ſtories told by Valerius Maximus will depreſs them; who repreſents the Senate in great munificence advancing out of the treaſury xi thouſand aſſes [*b*] (or 22 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.*) to the proconſul Cn. Scipio's daughter for her fortune. Believe it who can. When I ſee Aſconius and Dr. Middleton confounding HS. with *aſſes*, I can eaſily imagine ſome ſuch error has miſled this writer of *Memorables*: we learn from unqueſtionable authority, that ladies in thoſe days had much higher fortunes; that within a few years afterward, P. Scipio Africanus the elder, firſt couſin of the forementioned lady, promiſed to give, firſt and laſt, with each of his two daughters, xxv talents [*i*], which is two millions four hundred thouſand *aſſes*, in our money 5000 *l.*

2. It is obſervable, that when the Roman Senators obtained the privilege of ſitting by themſelves at the ſhews in the theatre, U. C. Var. 560, the people complained of the faſtidiouſneſs of the *wealthy* [*k*]; notwithſtanding

[*b*] Val. Max. iv. 4. Dr. Chapman ſaies 35 *l.* 10 *s.* 5 *d.* He is too indulgent in purſuance of his preceding miſtake: the *denarius* was worth xvi *aſſes* then current; not only x, as he computes.

[*i*] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 1460. Ed. 8vo.

[*k*] Horum ædilitium ludos Romanos primum ſenatus a populo ſecretus ſpectavit—ad DLVIII in promiſcuo ſpectatum eſſe? Cur DIVES pauperem conſeſſorem faſtidiret? Liv. xxxiv. 44.

they

they had then the *equites* among them to keep them in countenance. About the ſame time T. Quinctius, in reforming the cities of Theſſaly [*l*], *in general nominated Senators and Judges according to the value of their eſtates.* Whence ſhall we think he drew this plan, but from the example of his parent city, Rome? If the conformity was kept exactly, the paſſage may ſeem to imply that the cenſors *ſometimes* put men of diſtinguithed abilities on the roll without having a Senatorian eſtate: but it ſhews, that *in general* there was a certain cenſus for that ſuperior order. Thus again, among the regulations preſcribed to the Haleſini by C. Claudius the Prætor, and to the people of Agrigentum by Scipio, one was that the Senators ſhould be poſſeſſed of *an eſtate to a certain value* [*m*]. I uſe here the authority, as well as argument, of Dr. Middleton, who cites this paſſage of Cicero to prove the Senatorian age among the Romans from what they directed to other nations. If it is good for a certain *age*, it is equally ſo for a certain *eſtate*.

3. Though we allow Aſconius miſtaken when he treats, as he pretends, *de more veterum*, yet his authority is good when he ſpeaks

[*l*] A cenſu MAXIME ſenatum et judices legit. Liv. xxxiv. 15.

[*m*] Cic. in Verrem, ii. 49, 50.

almoſt

almoſt of his own times. If ſo, his teſtimony is deciſive for a Senatorian cenſus prevailing at leaſt in the latter end of the republic. *A Roman citizen*, ſaies he, *was ſpecified in the cenſor's books, either by his prænomen, his family name, or ſurname; from his tribe or curia in which he was enrolled; or from his* effects, *as being a Senator or Knight* [*n*]. Again; 'Tis certain, during the time of the republic, a *cenſus* was preſcribed for the judges by the Aurelian, Pompeian, and the Julian laws [*o*]. Now our Aſconius tells us [*p*], that by the Pompeian law, the *judges were to be, differently than heretofore, nominated out of the three orders of* Senators, Knights, and Centurions; *all of them to be of the higheſt cenſus.* Sigonius [*q*] thinks this *judicial cenſus* was not only diſtinct from that of

[*n*] Moris autem fuit, ſaies he, ut, cum aliquis civis Romanus oſtendendus eſſet, ſignificaretur aut a prænomine ſuo, aut a nomine, aut a cognomine; aut a tribu in quo cenſeretur; aut a curia; aut a *cenſu*, ut ſi erat ſenator, equeſve Romanus. Aſcon. ad Cic. in Verrem, i. 8.

[*o*] Cic. Philipp. i. 8.

[*p*] Ut ampliſſimo ex cenſu, ex centuriis, aliter quam ante, lecti judices, æque tamen ex illis tribus ordinibus, res judicarent. Aſcon. in *orat. contra L. Piſon.* c. 39.

[*q*] Significat ſenatores legi potuiſſe, qui octingenta millia poſſiderent; equites, qui quadringenta; at judices e ſenatorio ordine, aut equeſtri, niſi qui *ampliſſimo cenſu* eſſent, id eſt, qui ſupra ſenatorium, aut equeſtrem cenſum poſſiderent, conſtitui non licuiſſe. Sigon. *De antiquo jure civium Rom.* l. ii. c. xviii.

knights and ſenators, but higher than the loweſt limits of each, i. e. that the *judicial knights* were to be poſſeſſed of more than what was preſcribed to the knights in general, and the *judicial ſenators* of a larger cenſus than that preſcribed to the ſenators. This ſeems to me, with ſubmiſſion, a forced interpretation. Many had been the conteſts between the knights and ſenators for the judicial power. Pompey's law compromiſed the difference; it laid open the diſtinction of order, but with this reſtriction, that though the judges were not to be all ſenators, they ſhould all be poſſeſſed of a ſenator's eſtate, *ex ampliſſimo cenſu lecti*; which I ſhould interpret *ex cenſu* ordinis *ampliſſimi*.—But whatever was this *judicial* cenſus, Pliny aſcribes it [*r*], jointly with the *ſenatorian*, to the effects of luxury; and he would hardly ſo ill diſtinguiſh times as to jumble two inſtitutions, which began, one, as we have ſeen, under the republic; the other, as Dr. Chapman imagines, under the emperors. We will apply, with this accurate writer [*s*], the particulars enumerated by Pliny to the times of affluence and of *agonizing liberty*. But we need not wait for thoſe

[*r*] Poſteris laxitas mundi et rerum amplitudo damno fuit, poſtquam ſenator cenſu legi cœptus, judex fieri cenſu. Plin. N. H. xiv. procem.

[*s*] Rom. Senate, p. 120, 121.

days till the reign of Auguſtus. Though it is allowed, by the conqueſt of Egypt [*t*], a new fund of riches flowed into his capital, yet more great fortunes ſeem to have been raiſed before the civil war broke out, when whole armies were ſupported by ſingle perſons, than were ever afterwards. The donations made by that emperor prove at once the immenſe wealth he was poſſeſſed of, and the want of it in others. He ſupplied not only the legal qualifications to knights and ſenators, but even the deficiencies of the treaſury. We learn from the inſcription at Ancyra, that, at four donations [*u*] only, he diſtributed to 250,000 men iv hundred HS. i. e. about 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a man; in all, near 210,000 *l.* each time. In ſhort, he is recorded there to have given away above xvii

[*t*] See hereafter, p. 235.

[*u*] The learned Mr. Chiſhul, under the fourth donation is fallen into a miſtake, Tab. iii. l. 14. p. 174. "Quæ "mea congiaria pervenerunt ad [feſterti] VM millia nun-"quam minus quinquaginta et ducenta." p. 191. That is, as he underſtands it, each donation amounted to 50,200,000 HS. and thence concludes, that ſince each man received cccc HS. 125,000 always partook of the donation. But *millia quinquaginta et ducenta* can ſignify no more than 250,000. And do not here *expreſs* HS. but the number of receivers whom he ſearches for by *implication*, and ſhould be read undoubtedly, "pervenerunt ad *civi* VM MILLIA," &c. as l. 15. "trecentis et viginti millibus PLEBEI." and l. 19. "acceperunt id HOMINVM circiter centum et viginti." and again, l. 21. "ea millia HOMINVM paulo plura quam du-"centa fuerunt."

millions of pounds ſterling, beſides one donation which time has effaced.

4. Suetonius and Dio compared together, lead us to think a qualification was required before the time of Auguſtus. Suetonius [*w*] ſays, "Auguſtus ENLARGED the ſenatorian "cenſus, and from eight hundred thouſand "HS. RAISED it to one million two hundred "thouſand HS." Dio [*x*], that Auguſtus "fixed it firſt at four hundred thouſand HS. "in conſideration of the misfortunes which "many families had felt by the civil wars; "and afterwards raiſed it to a million." Now, according to Dr. Chapman's hypotheſis, the reſult of what is here delivered is, that the ſenatorian cenſus was fixed by Auguſtus firſt at four hundred thouſand HS. then at eight hundred thouſand HS. then a million, laſtly at one million two hundred thouſand. A ſtrange mark of inconſtancy in the emperor, and more ſtrange inaccuracy in the hiſtorians; the former paſſing over in ſilence the firſt rate; the latter, the ſecond. But we ſee prudence in the emperor, and method in the hiſtorians, if we ſup-

[*w*] Senatorum cenſum ampliavit, et pro octingentorum millium ſumma duodecies HS. taxavit; ſupplevitque non habentibus. Suet. in *Aug.* c. 41.

[*x*] Τουτων γαρ [δεκα μυριαδων] το βυλευτικον τιμημα την πρωτην εινας εταξεν, επειτα ες πεντε ες εικοσι μυριαδας αυτο προηγαγε. Dio, l. iv. p. 532. vid. & p. 540.

poſe

poſe that Suetonius deſcribes the ſenatorian cenſus as Auguſtus *found* it, and as he *left* it at his death; and that Dio mentions the rate to which Auguſtus *firſt ſunk* it, and *afterwards raiſed* it. 'Tis true indeed Dio ſays nothing here of Suetonius's one million two hundred thouſand HS. But he mentions the occaſion of that report elſewhere, telling us, "That "Auguſtus ſupplied ſeveral ſenators and knights "with the money which was wanting to "their qualification, and to fourſcore of them "gave *thirty myriads of drachms* [y]," the very ſum which in the Roman ſtyle is *duodecies*, or one million two hundred thouſand HS. This munificent act of Auguſtus probably miſled Suetonius to think that emperor ultimately raiſed the cenſus to ſo high a rate.

I ſhall forbear all further enquiries except one: whence is it, that I ſhould thus preſume to differ from my betters? But as errors in money accounts are daily adjuſted without offence; it would be ſtrange, if any ſhould be taken where we are leſs intereſted, where the ſums are Roman. If I have not tranſgreſſed the decent bounds of liberty, which is as ne-

[y] Τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας τοῦτο ἐπήυξησε. Dio, lib. lv. p. 557.

ceſſary

ceſſary to the welfare of the literary, as of the political republic, I will truſt to the Baron's natural, I may add national, humanity to pardon me. I claim no merit to myſelf, nor will I decide on the different titles of others to it;

Perierunt judice formæ
Pergama.

I have only produced Gronovius, Perizonius, &c. who have varied from the Baron in computing fractions, while he has been holding the balance of kingdoms, and, no leſs a philoſopher than ſtateſman, accounting for the ſeveral operations of the commercial, political, and ſocial world, on as regular principles as our Newton has fixed thoſe of the natural: nay, what is more, has reconciled the diſcordancy, I had almoſt ſaid madneſs of Religion, to the uniformity and rectitude of Reaſon.

N. B. *I have ſuppoſed the* denarius *to weigh* 62 *grains troy, under the republic and the firſt emperors, as Mr. Greaves has proved it ought to weigh, and experience that it did weigh. He reduces it, and Dr. Arbuthnot after him, &c. to* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d. Engliſh, taking our ounce all in round ſum to be* 5 *s. But ſilver being in reality at* 5 *s.* 3 *d. per ounce, the denarius amounts to* 8 *d. which is thus more eaſily computed without any fraction, and is more exactly the truth.*

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CON-

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Cauſes of the Riſe and Fall

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

The infancy of Rome. The wars it ſuſtained.

WE muſt not form to ourſelves an idea of the city of Rome, in its infancy, from the cities which exiſt at this time, unleſs we have in view thoſe of the Crim Tartars, built for the ſtowing and ſecuring of plunder, cattle, fruits, and other produce of the country. The antient names of the chief places in Rome, are all relative to this uſe *.

The city was even without ſtreets, unleſs we will give this name to the continuation of roads which center in it. The houſes were

[* Does the author mean Forum boarium, olitorium, &c.]

ſtraggling, built after an irregular manner, and very ſmall; for the inhabitants being always either at their work, or in the public ſquare, were very ſeldom at home.

But the greatneſs of Rome ſoon appeared in its public edifices. Works which * have raiſed, and ſtill raiſe the greateſt idea of its power, were formed under its kings. They began already to lay the foundation of that city which was to be eternal.

ROMULUS, and his ſucceſſors, were engaged in almoſt perpetual wars with their neighbours, to encreaſe the number of their citizens, their women, and their territories. They uſed to return to the city, loaded with the ſpoils of conquered nations; and theſe ſpoils, which conſiſted of wheatſheaves and flocks, uſed to fill them with the greateſt joy. Such is the origin of triumphs, to which that city, afterwards, chiefly owed its grandeur.

The ſtrength of the Romans was greatly increaſed by their union with the Sabines, a ſtubborn, warlike people, reſembling the Lacedæmonians, from whom they ſprung. Romulus † copied the from of their ſhields, which were large, and uſed them ever afterwards inſtead of the ſmall buckler of Argos: And it is to be obſerved, that the circum-

* See the aſtoniſhment of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus on the aquæducts built by Tarquin, Ant. Rom. lib. iii. They are ſtill ſubſiſting.

† Plutarch's life of Romulus.

ſtance

ſtance which chiefly raiſed the Romans to the ſovereignty of the world, was, their laying aſide their own cuſtoms as ſoon as they met with better among the people they conquered; and it is well know that they fought ſucceſſively againſt all nations.

It was a maxim then among the republics of Italy, that treaties made with one king were not obligatory towards his ſucceſſor. This was a ſort of law of nations * among them. Thus every thing which had been ſubmitted to by one king of Rome, they thought themſelves diſengaged from under another, and wars continually begot wars.

The reign of NUMA, being long and pacific, was very well adapted to leave the Romans in their humble condition; and had their territory in that age been leſs confined, and their power greater, it is probable their fortune would have been fixed for ever.

One cauſe of the proſperity of Rome was, that all her kings were great men. No other hiſtory preſents us with an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſuch ſtateſmen and ſuch captains.

In the infancy of ſocieties, the leading men in the republic form the conſtitution; afterwards, the conſtitution forms the leading men in the republic.

* This appears throughout the hiſtory of the kings of Rome.

TARQUIN took upon him the government, without being elected by the ſenate, * or the people. His power became hereditary; he rendered it abſolute. Theſe two revolutions were ſoon followed by a third.

SEXTUS, the ſon of TARQUIN, by violating the chaſtity of LUCRETIA, took ſuch a ſtep as has ſeldom failed to drive tyrants from the cities over which they preſided; for when once a people are made ſtrongly ſenſible, by the commiſſion of ſo enormous a crime, of the ſlavery to which they are reduced, they immediately form a deſperate reſolution.

A people may ſuffer, without murmuring, the impoſing of new tributes, ſince they are not certain but that ſome advantage may accrue to themſelves from the diſpoſal of the monies ſo levied; but when an inſult is put upon them, they are affected with their misfortune only; and this they aggravate, by fixing to it the idea of all the calamities which can poſſible happen.

It muſt however be confeſſed, that the death of Lucretia, did no more than occaſion, accidentally, the revolution which happened; for a haughty, enterprizing, bold people, confined within walls, muſt neceſſarily either ſhake off the yoke, or ſoften the aſperity of their manners.

* The ſenate named a magiſtrate in the interregnum, who was to make choice of a king. This election was to be confirmed by the people. Dion. Halicarn. lib. ii. iii. iv.

From

From the ſituation of things at that time, this was the reſult, either that Rome ſhould change the form of its government, or continue for ever a ſmall, poor monarchy.

Modern hiſtory furniſhes us with a very remarkable example of what happened at that time in Rome; for as men have been ſenſible of the ſame paſſions in all ages, the occaſions which give riſe to great revolutions, are various, but the cauſes are for ever the ſame.

As HENRY VII. of England increaſed the power of the commons, merely to humble the nobility; ſo SERVIUS TULLIUS enlarged the privileges of the people, in order to depreſs the ſenate; but the people growing afterwards bolder, ruined each of the monarchies under which they lived.

No flattering colours have been employed in the picture which is left us of TARQUIN; his name has not eſcaped any of the orators who declaimed againſt tyranny; but his conduct before his calamities, which it is evident he foreſaw, his gentleneſs and humanity towards the conquered, his beneficence to the ſoldiers, the arts by which he engaged ſuch numbers to endeavour at his preſervation, the edifices he raiſed for the public uſe, his courage in the field, the conſtancy and patience with which he bore his misfortunes, a twenty years war he either carried on, or cauſed to be carried on againſt the Romans, though deprived of his kingdom, and very poor; theſe things,

and the reſources perpetually found, prove manifeſtly, that he was no contemptible perſon.

The rank or place which poſterity beſtows, is ſubject, as all others are, to the whim and caprice of fortune: Woe to the reputation of that monarch who is oppreſſed by a party which after becomes the prevailing one; or who has endeavoured to deſtroy a prepoſſeſſion that ſurvives him.

The Romans, after having baniſhed their kings, appointed conſuls annually, a circumſtance which contributed to raiſe them to ſo exalted a pitch. In the lives of all princes there are certain periods of ambition, and theſe are afterwards ſucceeded by other paſſions, and even by indolence; but the commonwealth being governed by magiſtrates who were changed every year, and who endeavoured to ſignalize themſelves in their employment, in the view of obtaining new ones, ambition had not a moment to loſe. Hence it was that theſe magiſtrates were ever perſuading the ſenate to ſtir up the people to war, and pointed out to them new enemies every day.

This body (the ſenate) was inclined enough to do this of their own accord; for, being quite tired of the complaints and demands of the people, they endeavoured to remove the occaſion of their diſquiet, and to employ them in foreign wars.

Now

Now the common people were generally pleaſed with war, becauſe a method had been found to make it beneficial to them, by the judicious diſtribution that was made of the ſpoils.

Rome being a city in which neither trade nor arts flouriſhed, the ſeveral individuals had no other way of enriching themſelves but by rapine.

An order and diſcipline was therefore eſtabliſhed in the way and manner of pillaging *, and this was pretty near the ſame with that now practiſed among the inhabitants of Leſſer Tartary.

The plunder was laid together, and afterwards diſtributed among the ſoldiers; not even the minuteſt article was loſt, becauſe every man, before he ſet out, ſwore not to embezzle any thing; beſides that the Romans were, of all nations, the moſt religious obſervers of oaths, theſe being conſidered as the ſinews of their military diſcipline.

In fine, thoſe citizens who ſtaid at home, ſhared alſo in the fruits of the victory; for part of the conquered lands was confiſcated, and this was ſubdivided into two portions, one of which was ſold for the benefit of the public, and the other divided by the commonwealth, among ſuch citizens as were but in poor circumſtances, upon condition of their paying a ſmall acknowledgment.

* See Polybius, lib. x.

As the conſuls had no other way of obtaining the honour of a triumph, than by a conqueſt or a victory, this made them ruſh into the field with unparalleled impetuoſity; they marched directly to the enemy, when force immediately decided the conteſt.

Rome was therefore engaged in an eternal, and ever obſtinate war: Now, a nation that is always * at war, and that too from the very frame and eſſence of its government, muſt neceſſarily be deſtroyed, or ſubdue all other nations; for, theſe being ſometimes at war, and at other times in peace, could never be ſo able to invade others, nor ſo well prepared to defend themſelves.

By this means the Romans attained a perfect knowledge in the military arts: In tranſient wars moſt of the examples are loſt; peace ſuggeſts different ideas, and we forget not only our faults, but even our virtues.

Another conſequence of the maxim of waging perpetual war, was, that the Romans never concluded a peace but when they were victorious; and indeed, to what purpoſe would it be to make an ignominous peace with one nation, and afterwards go and invade another?

In this view, their pretenſions roſe always in proportion to their defeat; by this they

* The Romans conſidered foreigners as enemies: Hoſtis, according to Varro, De lingua Lat. lib. iv. ſignified at firſt a foreigner who lived according to his own laws.

ſur-

ſurprized the conqueror, and laid themſelves under a greater neceſſity of conquering.

Being for ever obnoxious to the moſt ſevere vengeance; preſeverance and valour became neceſſary virtues: And theſe could not be diſtinguiſhed, among them, from ſelf-love, from the love of one's family, of one's country, and whatever is deareſt among men.

The ſame had happened to Italy, which befel America in late ages; the natives of the former, quite helpleſs and diſperſed up and down, having reſigned their habitations to new comers, it was afterwards peopled by three different nations, the Tuſcans *, the Gauls, and the Greeks. The Gauls had no manner of relation or affinity either with the Greeks or Tuſcans; the latter formed a ſociety which had its peculiar language, cuſtoms, and morals; and the Grecian colonies, who deſcended from different nations that were often at variance, had pretty ſeparate intereſts.

The world in that age was not like the world in ours: Voyages, conqueſt, traffick, the eſtabliſhment of mighty ſtates, the invention of poſt-offices, of the ſea-compaſs, and of printing; theſe, with a certain general polity, have made correſpondence much eaſier, and given riſe, among us, to an art, called by the name of Politics: Every man ſees at one

* It is not known whether they were originally of that country, or only a colony; but Dion. Halicarnaſſeus is of the former opinion, lib. i.

glance

glance whatever is tranſacted in the whole univerſe; and if a people diſcover but ever ſo little ambition, all the nations round them are immediately terrified.

The people of Italy had * none of thoſe engines which were employed in ſieges: And further, as the ſoldiers were not allowed any ſtipend, there was no poſſibility of keeping them long before a town or fortreſs: Hence it was, that few of their wars were deciſive; Theſe fought from no other motive, but merely to plunder the enemy's camp or his lands; after which, both the conqueror and the conquered marched back to their reſpective cities. This circumſtance gave riſe to the ſtrong reſiſtance which the people of Italy made, and at the ſame time to the inflexible reſolution the Romans formed to ſubdue them; this favoured the latter with victories, which no way depraved their morals, and left them in their original poverty.

Had the Romans made a rapid conqueſt of the neighbouring cities, they would have been in a declining condition at the arrival of Pyrrhus, of the Gauls, and of Hannibal; and, by a fate common to moſt governments in the world,

* D. Halicarnaſſ. declares ſo expreſly, lib. ix. and this appears by hiſtory: They uſed to attempt the ſcalade of cities with ladders. Ephorus relates that Artemon the engineer invented large machines to batter the ſtrongeſt wall. Pericles was the firſt who made uſe of them at the ſiege of Samos, as Plutarch tells us in the life of that general.

they

they would have made too quick a tranſition from poverty to riches, and from riches to depravity.

But Rome, for ever ſtruggling, and ever meeting with obſtacles, made other nations tremble at its power, and at the ſame time was unable to extend it; and exerciſed in a very narrow compaſs of ground, a train of virtues that were to prove of the moſt fatal conſequence to the univerſe.

All the people of Italy were not equally warlike: Thoſe who inhabited the eaſtern part, as the Tarentines and the Capuans, all the cities of Campania, and of Græcia Major, were quite immerſed in indolence and in pleaſures; but the Latins, the Hernici, the Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volſcians were paſſionately fond of war: Theſe Nations lay round Rome; the reſiſtance they made to that city was incredible, and they ſurpaſſed them in ſtubborneſs and inflexibility.

The Latin cities ſprung from Alban colonies, which were founded * by LATINUS SYLVIUS: Beſides their common extraction with the Romans, there were ſeveral rites and ceremonies common to both; and SERVIUS TULLIUS had † engaged them to build a temple in Rome, to ſerve as the center of union of the two nations. Loſing a battle near the lake

* As appears from the treatiſe entitled Origo Gentis Romanæ, aſcribed to Aurelius Victor.

† D. Halicarnaſſ.

Regillus

Regillus, they were ſubjected to an alliance, and forced to aſſociate in the * wars which the Romans waged.

It was manifeſtly ſeen, during the ſhort time that the tyranny of the decemvirs laſted, how much the aggrandizing of Rome depended on its liberty. The government ſeemed to have loſt the † ſoul which animated even to the minuteſt part of it.

There remained at that time but two ſorts of people in the city, thoſe who ſubmitted to ſlavery, and thoſe who, for their own private intereſt, endeavoured to enſlave the reſt. The ſenators withdrew from Rome as from a foreign city; and the neighbouring nations did not meet with the leaſt reſiſtance from any quarter.

The ſenate having found means to give the ſoldiers a regular ſtipend, the ſiege of Veii was undertaken, which laſted ten years. But now a new art, and a new ſyſtem of war, were ſeen to ariſe among the Romans; their ſucceſſes were more ſignal and conſpicuous; they made a better advantage of their victories; their conqueſts were greater, they ſent out more colonies; in fine, the taking of Veii proved a kind of revolution.

* See in D. Halicarnaſſ. lib. vi. one of the treaties concluded with this people.

† Theſe Decemviri, upon pretence of giving written laws to the people, ſeized upon the government. See D. Halicarnaſſ. lib. xi.

But

But all this did not leſſen their toils: If, on one ſide, they attacked with greater vigour the Tuſcans, the Æqui, and the Volſcians; for this very reaſon they were abandoned by the Latins and the Hernici their allies, who were armed after the ſame manner, and obſerved the ſame diſcipline with themſelves; this engaged the Tuſcans to form new alliances; and prompted the Samnites, the moſt martial people of all Italy, to involve them in a furious war.

After the ſoldiers received pay, the ſenate no longer diſtributed to them the lands of the conquered people, upon whom other conditions were now impoſed; they were obliged, for inſtance, to pay the army a certain quota for a time, and to ſend ſupplies of cloaths and corn.

The taking of Rome by the Gauls did no way leſſen its ſtrength; almoſt the whole army, which was diſperſed rather than overcome, withdrew to Veii; the people ſheltered themſelves in the adjacent cities; and the burning of Rome was no more than the ſetting fire to a few cottages of ſhepherds.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſcience of war, as practiſed by the Romans.

AS the Romans devoted themſelves entirely to war, and conſidered it as the only ſcience, they therefore bent all their thoughts,

thoughts, and the genius with which they were informed, to the improvement of it: Doubtleſs a god, ſays * Vegetius, inſpired them with the idea of the legion.

They judged that it would be neceſſary to arm the ſoldiers who compoſed the legion with weapons, whether offenſive or defenſive, of a ſtronger and † heavier kind than thoſe of any other nation.

But as ſome things muſt be done in war, which a heavy body is not able to execute, the Romans would have the legion include within itſelf a band of light forces, which might iſſue from it in order to provoke the enemy to battle, or draw back into it in caſe of neceſſity; they alſo would have this legion ſtrengthened with cavalry, with archers, and ſlingers, to purſue thoſe who fled, and compleat the victory; that it ſhould be defended by military engines of every kind, which it drew after it; that every evening this body ſhould entrench itſelf, and be, as Vegetius ‡ obſerves, a kind of ſtrong-hold.

* Lib. ii. cap. 1.

† See in Polybius, and in Joſephus, De bello Judaico, lib. ii. a deſcription of the arms of the Roman ſoldiers. There is but little difference, ſays the latter, between a Roman ſoldier and a loaded horſe. "They carried (ſays "Cicero) proviſion for fifteen days, neceſſaries of all ſorts, "and whatever they ſhould have occaſion for in throwing "up trenches. As to their arms, they were no more "incumbered with them than with their hands."

‡ Lib. ii. cap. 25.

But

But that the Roman ſoldiers might be able to carry heavier arms than other men, it was neceſſary they ſhould become more than men; and this they became by perpetual labour which increaſed their vigour, and by exerciſes that gave them an activity, which is no more than a juſt diſtribution of the ſtrength we are invigorated with.

It is obſerved in this age, that the * immoderate labour which ſoldiers are obliged to undergo, deſtroys our armies; and yet it was by incredible labour that the Romans preſerved themſelves. The reaſon I take to be this; their toils were continual and uninterrupted, whereas our ſoldiers are ever ſhifting from the extremes of labour to the extremes of idleneſs, than which nothing can poſſibly be more deſtructive.

I muſt here take notice of what authors † relate concerning the training up of the Roman ſoldiery. They were inured to the military pace, that is, to walk twenty miles, and ſometimes four and twenty, in five hours. During theſe

* Particularly the throwing up of the ground.

† See in Vegetius lib. i. and in Livy, lib. xxvi: the exerciſes which Scipio Africanus made the ſoldiers perform after the taking of Carthago Nova. Marius uſed to go every day to the Campus Martius, even in his extreme old age. It was cuſtomary for Pompey, when fifty-eight years of age, to arm himſelf cap-a-pee, and engage in ſingle combate with the Roman youths. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf in riding, when he would run with the ſwifteſt career, and hurl the javelin. Plutarch in the lives of Marius and Pompey.

marches,

marches, they carried burthens of threescore pounds weight; they habituated themselves to running and leaping, erected caps on poles in their * exercises they made use of swords, javelins, and arrows, double the weight of common weapons; and these exercises were carried on without intermission.

The camp was not the only military school, there being, at Rome, a place in which the citizens used to perform exercises (it was the Campus Martius): After their fatigues † they plunged into the Tyber, to accustom themselves to swimming, and cleanse away the dust and sweat.

We have no very just idea of bodily exercise. The Man who assiduously applies himself to it, appears to us rather in a contemptible light, inasmuch as the far greater part of his exercises have for their object nothing more than self-gratification. Whereas, among the ancients, every exercise, even down to that of dancing, made a part of the art military.

With us moderns a deep knowledge in the use of warlike weapons is become ridiculous; for since the custom of single combats was introduced, fencing has been regarded as the science of quarrelsome fellows or cowards.

Those who criticize Homer for inspiring his heroes with strength, dexterity, and agility of body, should hold Sallust ridiculous, who

* Vegetius lib. i. † Idem ibid.

cele-

celebrates Pompey * for running, leaping, or carrying a burthen as well as any Man of his time.

Whenever the Romans thought themſelves expoſed to any danger, or were deſirous of repairing ſome loſs, it was a conſtant practice among them to invigorate and give new life to their military diſcipline. Are they engaged in a war with the Latins, a people no leſs martial than themſelves? MANLIUS reflects upon the beſt methods of ſtrengthening the command in the field, and puts to death his own ſon, for conquering without his orders. Are they defeated before Numantia? SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS immediately removes the ſeveral blandiſhments, which had enervated them. Have the Roman legions paſt under the yoke at Numidia? METELLUS wipes away their ignominy, the inſtant he has obliged them to reſume their ancient inſtitutions. MARIUS, that he may be enabled to vanquiſh the Cimbri and the Teutones, begins by diverting the courſe of † rivers; and SYLLA employs in ſuch hard labour his ſoldiers, who were terrified at the war which was carrying on againſt Mithridates, that they ſue for battle, to put an end to their hardſhips.

PUBLIUS NASICA made the Romans build a fleet of ſhips, at a time when they had no

* *Cum alacribus ſaltu, cum velocibus curſu, cum validis rectè certabat.* Fragm. of Salluſt by Vegetius. B. i. cap. 9.

† Frontin. Stratagem. lib. i. cap. 11.

occaſion for ſuch a force: Theſe people dreaded idleneſs more than an enemy.

Aulus Gellius † gives no very good reaſons for the cuſtom among the Romans of letting ſoldiers blood who had committed a fault; the true reaſon is, that ſtrength being the chief qualification of a ſoldier, this was the means of adding not to his weakneſs, but to his diſgrace.

Theſe men thus inured were generally healthy and vigorous: We do not find by hiſtorians, that the Roman armies, which waged war in ſo great a variety of climates, fell often a prey to diſeaſes; whereas in the preſent age we daily ſee armies, without once engaging, periſh and melt away, if I may uſe the expreſſion, in a ſingle campaign.

Deſertions are very frequent among us for this reaſon, becauſe the ſoldiers are the dregs of every nation, and not one of them poſſeſſes, or thinks himſelf poſſeſſed of, a certain advantage which gives him a ſuperiority over his comrades. But among the Romans they were leſs frequent; it being ſcarce poſſible that ſoldiers, raiſed from among a people naturally ſo haughty and imperious, and ſo ſure of commanding over others, ſhould demean themſelves to ſuch a degree, as to ceaſe to be Romans.

† Lib. x. cap. 8.

As

As their armies were not great, they were eaſily ſubſiſted: The commander had a better opportunity of knowing the ſeveral invidnals; and could more eaſily perceive the various faults and miſdemeanours committed by the ſoldiery.

The violence of their exerciſes, and the wonderful roads they built, enabled them to make long and ſpeedy marches. Their ſudden preſence damped the ſpirits of their oppoſers: they ſhewed themſelves, eſpecially after ſome unfortunate event, at a time when their enemies were in that ſtate of negligence which is generally conſequent on victory.

In the battles fought in our age, every ſingle ſoldier has very little ſecurity and confidence, except in the multitude; but among the Romans, every invidual, more robuſt and of greater experience in war, as well as more inured to the fatigues of it, than his enemy, relied upon himſelf only. He was naturally endued with courage, or in other words, with that virtue which a ſenſibility of our own ſtrength inſpires.

As no troops in the world were, in any age, ſo well diſciplined, it was hardly poſſible that in a battle, how unfortunate ſoever, but ſome Romans muſt rally in one part or other of it; or, on the other ſide, but that the enemy muſt be defeated in ſome part of the field: And, indeed, we find every where in hiſtory, that whenever the Romans happened to be over-

powered at the beginning, either by numbers, or the fierceneſs of the onſet, they at laſt wreſted the laurel out of the enemy's hand.

Their chief care was to examine, in what particular their enemies had an advantage over them, and when this was found, they immediately rectified it. They accuſtomed themſelves to behold the blood and the wounds of the Gladiators. The cutting ſwords * of the Gauls, and the elephants of Pyrrhus intimidated them but once. They ſtrengthened their cavalry † firſt, by taking the bridles from the horſes, that their impetuoſity might be boundleſs; and afterwards by intermixing them with Velites ‡. When they underſtood the excellence of the Spaniſh || ſword, they quitted their own for it. They baffled all the art of

* The Romans uſed to preſent their javelins, when the Gauls ſtruck at them with their ſwords, and by that means blunted them.

† At the time that they warred againſt the leſſer nations of Italy, their horſe was ſuperior to that of their enemies, and for this reaſon, the cavalry were compoſed of none but the ableſt bodied men, and the moſt conſiderable among the citizens, each of whom had a horſe maintained at the public expence. When they alighted, no infantry was more formidable, and they very often turned the ſcale of victory.

‡ Theſe were young men lightly armed, and the moſt nimble of all the legion. At the leaſt ſignal that was given, they would either leap behind a horſeman, or fight on foot. Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. Livy, lib. xxvi.

|| Fragm. of Polybius cited by Suidas in the word μάχαιρα.

the

the moſt experienced pilots, by the invention of an engine which is deſcribed by Polybius. In fine, as Joſephus obſerves *, war was a ſubject of meditation to the Romans, and peace an exerciſe.

If any nation boaſted, either from nature or its inſtitution, any peculiar advantage, the Romans immediately made uſe of it: They employed their utmoſt endeavours to procure horſes from Numidia, bowmen from Crete, ſlingers from the Baleares, and ſhips from the Rhodians.

To conclude, no nation in the world ever prepared for war with ſo much wiſdom, and carried it on with ſo much intrepidity.

CHAP. III.

The Methods by which the Romans raiſed themſelves to Empire.

AS the people of Europe, in this age, have very near the ſame arts, the ſame arms, the ſame diſcipline, and the ſame manner of making war; the prodigious fortune to which the Romans attained, ſeems incredible to us. Beſides, power is at this time divided ſo diſproportionably, that it is not poſſible for a petty ſtate to raiſe itſelf, merely by its own

* De bello Judaico, lib. ii.

ſtrength, from the low condition in which providence has placed it.

This merits ſome reflexions, otherwiſe we might behold ſeveral events without being able to account for them; and for want of having a perfect idea of the different ſituation of things, we ſhould believe, in peruſing ancient hiſtory, that we view a ſett of men different from ourſelves.

Experience has ſhewn perpetually, that an European prince who has a million of ſubjects, cannot, without deſtroying himſelf, keep up and maintain above ten thouſand ſoldiers; conſequently, great nations only are poſſeſſed of armies.

But the caſe was different anciently with regard to commonwealths: For this proportion between the ſoldiers and the reſt of the people, which is now as one to an hundred, might, in thoſe times, be, pretty near, as one is to eight.

The founders of ancient commonwealths had made an equal diſtribution of the lands: This circumſtance alone raiſed a nation to power; that is to ſay, made it a well regulated ſociety: This alſo gave ſtrength to its armies; it being equally the intereſt (and this too was very great) of every individual, to exert himſelf in defence of his country.

When laws were not executed in their full rigour, affairs returned back to the ſame point in which we now ſee them: The avarice of

ſome particular perſons, and the laviſh profuſeneſs of others, occaſioned the lands to become the property of a few; immediately arts were introduced to ſupply the reciprocal wants of the rich and poor; by which means there were but very few ſoldiers or citizens ſeen; for the revenues of the lands that had before been employed to ſupport the latter, were now beſtowed wholly on ſlaves and artificers, who adminiſtred to the luxury of the new proprietors; for otherwiſe the government, which, how licentious ſoever it be, muſt exiſt, would have been deſtroyed: Before the corruption of the ſtate, the original revenues of it were divided among the ſoldiers, that is, the labourers: after it was corrupted, they went firſt to the rich, who let them out to ſlaves and artificers, from whom they received by way of tribute a part for the maintenance of the ſoldiers. And it was impoſſible that people of this caſt ſhould be good ſoldiers, they being cowardly and abject; already corrupted by the luxury of cities, and often by the very art they profeſſed; not to mention, that as they could not properly call any country their own, and reaped the fruits of their induſtry in every clime, they had very little either to loſe or keep.

In the ſurvey * of the people of Rome, ſome time after the expulſion of the kings, and in

* This is the ſurvey mentioned by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, lib. ix. art. 25. and which ſeems to me to be the ſame he ſpeaks of at the end of his ſixth book, made ſix years after the expulſion of the kings.

that taken by Demetrius Phalereus * at Athens, the number of inhabitants was found nearly equal; Rome had four hundred forty thouſand, Athens four hundred thirty-one thouſand. But the ſurvey at Rome was made at the time when its eſtabliſhment was come to maturity, and that of Athens when it was quite corrupt. We find that the number of citizens grown up to manhood, made at Rome a fourth part of its inhabitants, and at Athens a little leſs than the twentieth: the ſtrength of Rome therefore, to that of Athens, was at theſe different times almoſt as four to twenty, that is, it was five times larger.

Agis and Cleomenes † obſerving, that inſtead of thirty thouſand citizens, (for ſo many were at Sparta in Lycurgus's time) there were but ſeven hundred, ſcarce a hundred of whom were poſſeſſed of lands; and that all the reſt were no more than a cowardly populace: they undertook to revive the laws enacted on this occaſion; and from that period Lacedæmonia recovered its former power, and again became formidable to all the Greeks.

It was the equal diſtribution of lands that at firſt enabled Rome to ſoar above its humble condition; and this the Romans were ſtrongly ſenſible of in their corrupted ſtate.

This commonwealth was confined to narrow bounds, when the Latins, having refuſed to

* Cteſicles in Athenæus, lib. vi.

† See Plutarch's life of Cleomenes.

ſuccour

ſuccour them with the troops which had been ſtipulated, ten legions were preſently raiſed in the city only: Scarce at this time, ſays Livy, Rome, whom the whole univerſe is not able to contain, could levy ſuch a force, were an enemy to appear ſuddenly under its wall: a ſure indication that we have not riſen in power, and have only increaſed the luxury and wealth which incommode us.*

Tell me, would TIBERIUS GRACCHUS ſay † to the nobles, Which is the moſt valuable character, that of a citizen or of a perpetual ſlave? Who is moſt uſeful, a ſoldier, or a man entirely unfit for war? Will you, merely for the ſake of enjoying a few more acres of land than the reſt of the citizens, quite lay aſide the hopes of conquering the reſt of the world, or be expoſed to ſee yourſelves diſpoſſeſſed by the enemy, of thoſe very lands which you refuſe us?

CHAP. IV.

Of the Gauls. Of Pyrrhus. Parallel between Carthage and Rome. The War of Hannibal.

THE Romans were engaged in ſeveral wars againſt the Gauls: A thirſt of glory, a contempt of death, and an inflexible reſolution

* Livy, 1 Decad. lib. vii. This was ſome time after the taking of Rome, under the conſulſhip of L. Furius Camillus, and App. Claudius Craſſus.

† Appian.

of

of conquering, were equal in both nations, but the weapons they uſed were different; the bucklers of the latter were ſmall, and their ſwords unfit for execution; and, indeed, the Gauls were cut to pieces by the Romans, much after the ſame manner as the Mexicans, in theſe latter ages, by the Spaniards; and, a ſurprizing circumſtance is, that though theſe people were combating perpetually with the Romans, they yet ſuffered themſelves to be deſtroyed one after another, without their ever being ſenſible of, enquiring after, or obviating the cauſe of their calamities.

PYRRHUS invaded the Romans at a time when they were ſtrong enough to oppoſe the power of his arms, and to be taught by the victories he obtained over them: From him they learned to entrench themſelves, as alſo the choice and proper diſpoſition of a camp: He accuſtomed them to elephants, and prepared them for mightier wars.

The grandeur of PYRRHUS was confined merely to his perſonal qualities; Plutarch * informs us, that he was obliged to begin the war of Macedonia, from his inability to maintain any longer the ſix thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe in his ſervice. This prince, ſovereign of a ſmall country, which has never made the leaſt figure ſince his time, was a military rambler, who was continually forming

* In his life of Pyrrhus.

new

new enterprises, because he could not subsist but by enterprizing.

Tarentum, his ally, had much degenerated from the institution of the Lacedæmonians, her ancestors *. He might have done great things with the assistance of the Samnites; but they were almost quite destroyed by the Romans.

As the CARTHAGINIANS grew wealthy sooner than the Romans, so they were sooner corrupted: Thus whilst at Rome, public employments were made the reward of virtue only, and no other emolument accrued from them than honour, and a preference in toils; at Carthage, the several advantages which the public can bestow on particular persons were venal, and every service done by such persons was there paid by the public.

A monarchy is not dragged nearer to the brink of ruin by the tyranny of a prince, than a commonwealth by a lukewarmness and indifference for the general good. The advantage of a free state is, that the revenues are employed in it to the best purposes; but where does not the reverse of this happen! The advantage of a free state is, that it admits of no favourites; but when the contrary is seen, and instead of the friends and relations of a prince, great fortunes are amassed for the friends and relations of all persons who have any share in the government; in this case an universal ruin must ensue;

* Justin. lib. xx.

the

the laws are then eluded more dangerouſly, than they are infringed by a ſovereign prince, who being always the greateſt citizen in the ſtate, is moſt concerned to labour at its preſervation.

By the conſtant practice of ancient cuſtoms and manners, and a peculiar uſe that was made of poverty, the fortunes of all the people in Rome were very near upon a level; but in Carthage, ſome particular perſons boaſted the wealth of kings.

The two prevailing factions in Carthage were ſo divided, that the one was always for peace, and the other always for war; by which means it was impoſſible for that city, either to enjoy the one, or engage in the other to advantage.

In Rome, * war immediately united the ſeveral intereſts; but in Carthage it divided them ſtill more.

* Hannibal's preſence put an end to all the feuds and diviſions which till then prevailed among the Romans; but the preſence of Scipio irritated thoſe which already ſubſiſted among the Carthaginians, and ſhackled, as it were, the ſtrength of the city; for the common people now grew diffident of the generals, the ſenate, and the great men; and this made the people more furious. Appian has given us the hiſtory of this war, carried on by the firſt Scipio.

[Polybius tells us, that there was this inconveniency at Carthage in the ſecond Punic war, that the ſenate had loſt almoſt all their authority. We are informed by Livy, that when Hannibal returned to Carthage, he found that the magiſtrates and the principal citizens had abuſed their

In

In a monarchy, feuds and diviſions are eaſily quieted, becauſe the prince is inveſted with a coercive power to curb both parties; but they are more laſting in a commonwealth, becauſe the evil generally ſeizes the very power which only could have wrought a cure.

In Rome, which was governed by laws, the people entruſted the ſenate with the management of affairs; but in Carthage, which was governed by fraud and diſſoluteneſs, the people would themſelves tranſact all things.

Carthage, in warring with all its riches againſt the poverty of Rome, had a diſadvantage in this very circumſtance; for gold and ſilver may be exhauſted, but virtue, perſeverance, ſtrength, and poverty are inexhauſtible.

The Romans were ambitious through pride, and the Carthaginians through avarice; the former would command, the latter amaſs; and theſe, whoſe minds were wholly turned to traffick, perpetually caſting up their income and expences, never engaged in any war from inclination.

The loſs of battles, the decreaſe of a people, the decay of trade, the conſumption of the public treaſure, the inſurrection of neighbouring nations, might force the Carthaginians to

power, and converted the public revenues to their own emolument. The virtue therefore of the magiſtrates, and the authority of the ſenate, both fell at the ſame time; and all was owing to the ſame cauſes, the diſſolution of principles. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, lib. viii. chap. 14.]

ſubmit

ſubmit to the ſevereſt terms of peace: But Rome was not ſwayed by the conſideration of bleſſings or calamities, being determined by no other motive but its glory; and as the Romans were perſuaded they could not exiſt without commanding over others, neither hopes nor fears of any kind could prevail with them to conclude a peace, the conditions of which were not preſcribed by themſelves.

Nothing is ſo powerful as a commonwealth, in which the laws are exactly obſerved; and this not from fear nor from reaſon, but from a paſſionate impulſe, as in Rome and Lacedæmon; for then the wiſdom of a good legiſlature is united to all the ſtrength a faction could poſſibly boaſt.

The Carthaginians made uſe of foreign forces, and the Romans employed none but their own. As the latter had never conſidered the vanquiſhed but merely as ſo many inſtruments for future triumphs, they made ſoldiers of the ſeveral people they conquered; and the greater oppoſition thoſe made, the more worthy they judged them of being incorporated into their republic. Thus we find the Samnites, who were not ſubdued till after four and twenty triumphs *, became auxiliaries to the Romans; and ſome time before the ſecond Punic war, they raiſed from among that nation and their allies †, that

* Flor. lib. i.

† See Polybius. According to the epitome of Florus they raiſed three hundred thouſand men out of the city and among the Latins.

is,

is, from a country of little more extent than the territories of the pope and Naples, ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and ſeventy thouſand horſe, to oppoſe the Gauls.

In the height of the ſecond Punic war, Rome had always a ſtanding army of twenty-two or twenty-four legions; and yet it appears by Livy, that at this time the cenſus, or general ſurvey, amounted to but about 137000 citizens.

The Carthaginians employed a greater number of troops in invading others, and the Romans in defending themſelves; the latter armed, as we have juſt now ſeen, a prodigious multitude of men to oppoſe the Gauls and Hannibal who invaded them; and they ſent out no more than two legions againſt the moſt powerful kings; by which means their forces were inexhauſtible.

Carthage was not ſo ſtrong from its ſituation, as Rome from the ſpot on which it ſtood: The latter had thirty colonies * round it, all which were as ſo many bulwarks. The Romans were never abandoned by one of their allies till the battle of Cannæ; the reaſon is, the Samnites and other nations of Italy were uſed to their ſovereignty.

As moſt of the cities of Africa were poorly fortified, they preſently ſurrendered to the firſt enemy that appeared under their walls; ſo that Agathocles, Regulus, Scipio, in a word, all

* See Livy, lib. xxvii.

who

who made a deſcent on thoſe places, immediately ſpread deſpair through all Carthage.

We can aſcribe to nothing but to an evil adminiſtration, the ſeveral calamities which the Carthaginians ſuffered during the whole war that Scipio carried on againſt them; their city *, and even their armies were famiſhed, at the ſame time that the Romans enjoyed a profuſion of all things.

Among the Carthaginians, the armies which had been defeated grew more inſolent upon it, inſomuch that they ſometimes uſed to crucify their generals, puniſhing them in this manner for their own cowardice. Among the Romans, the conſul, after puniſhing ſuch ſoldiers as had fled from their colours, by a † decimation, marched the ſurviving forces againſt the enemy.

The government of the Carthaginians was vaſtly oppreſſive ‡: They had trampled ſo much upon the Spaniards, that, when the Romans arrived among them, they were conſidered as their deliverers; and if we reflect

* See Appian, lib. Libycus.

† This puniſhment, which was inflicted on thoſe who had run from their colours, on mutineers, *&c.* was thus: The names of all the criminals being put together in a veſſel or ſhield, were afterwards drawn out, every tenth man being to die without reprieve. By this means, though all were not put to death, yet all were terrified into obedience. *Note by the tranſlator.*

‡ See what is related by Polybius concerning their exactions.

upon

upon the immenſe ſums it coſt the Carthaginians to maintain, in that country, a war which proved fatal to them, it will appear that injuſtice is very improvident, and is not miſtreſs of all the promiſes.

The founding of Alexandria had very much leſſened the trade of Carthage. In the firſt ages, ſuperſtition uſed to banish, in ſome meaſure, all foreigners from Egypt; and after the Perſians had conquered this kingdom, they had bent their whole thoughts to the weakening of their new ſubjects; but under the Grecian monarchs, Egypt poſſeſſed almoſt the whole commerce of the univerſe *, and that of Carthage began to decay.

Such powers as are eſtabliſhed by commerce, may ſubſiſt for a long ſeries of years in their humble condition, but their grandeur is of ſhort duration; they riſe by little and little, and in an imperceptible manner, for they do not perform any particular exploit which may make a noiſe, and ſignalize their power. But when they have once raiſed themſelves to ſo exalted a pitch, that it is impoſſible but all muſt ſee them, every one endeavours to deprive this nation of an advantage which it had ſnatched, as it were, from the reſt of the world.

The Carthaginian cavalry was preferable to that of the Romans, for theſe two reaſons; firſt, becauſe the horſes of Numidia and Spain

* [See more of this hereafter in chap. vi.]

were better than those of Italy; secondly, because the Roman cavalry was but indifferently provided with arms; for the Romans, as Polybius informs us, did not introduce any change on this occasion, till such time as they fought in Greece.

In the first Punic war, Regulus was defeated as soon as the Carthaginians made choice of plains for their cavalry to engage in; and in the second, Hannibal owed his most glorious victories to the Numidians.

Scipio, by the conquest of Spain and the alliance he made with Massiniss, deprived the Carthaginians of this superiority. The Numidian cavalry won the battle of Zama, and put an end to the war.

The Carthaginians had greater experience at sea, and were better skilled in the working of ships than the Romans. But this advantage seems to have been less in those ages than it would be in the present. For the ancients, not knowing the use of the mariner's compass, they were confined almost to coasting; and indeed they had nothing but galleys, which were small and flat-bottomed, most fitted to keep in sight of land. So many hours in the day, so many leagues was the utmost of their sailing; the knowledge of their pilots was very narrow and contracted,

* Book vi.

† The circumstance which gave the Romans an opportunity of taking a little breath in the second Punic war, was this, whole bodies of Numidian cavalry went over into Sicily and Italy, and there joined them.

and

and their tackle extremely simple. Their art itself was so imperfect, that as much is now done with an hundred oars, as in those ages with a thousand.

Their largest vessels had a disadvantage in this, that being moved with difficulty by the crew of galley-slaves, it was impossible for them to make the necessary evolutions. Mark Antony experienced this to the most fatal manner, at Actium; for his ships were not able to move about, when attacked on all sides by the lighter vessels of Augustus.

As the ancients used nothing but gallions, the lighter vessels easily broke the oars of the great ones, which were then but as so many unwieldly, immoveable machines, like modern ships when they have lost their masts.

Since the invention of the sea-compass, different methods have been employed; as new seas have been laid open, the world grown more civilized, great ships have been built, the discipline become more complicated, and the practices of war multiplied.

The discovery of gun-powder has occasioned a circumstance one would not always have suspected, which is, that the strength of fleets depends more than ever upon arts, for in order to resist the fury of the cannon, and prevent the being

Hence we may judge of the imperfection of the ancient navies, since we have laid aside a practice in which we had so much superiority over them.

expoſed to a ſuperior fire, it was neceſſary to build great ſhips; but the power of the art muſt be proportioned to the bulk of the machine.

The ſmall veſſels of the ancients uſed often to grapple ſuddenly with one another, on which occaſion the ſoldiers engaged on both ſides: A whole land-army was ſhipped on board a fleet. In the ſea-fight won by Regulus and his colleague, an hundred and thirty thouſand Romans fought againſt an hundred and fifty thouſand Carthaginians! At that time ſoldiers were looked upon as conſiderable, and artiſts the very reverſe; but in theſe ages, the ſoldiers are conſidered as a little or nothing, and artiſts the very contrary *.

A ſtrong proof of the difference is, the victory won by Duilius the conſul! The Romans were totally ignorant of navigation; when a Carthaginian galley happening to be ſtranded on their coaſt, ſerved them as a model for the building of others. In three months time their ſailors were trained, their fleet was completely fitted out; the Romans put to ſea, came up with the Carthaginians, and defeated them.

In this age, the whole life of a prince is ſcarce ſufficient for the raiſing and equipping a navy, capable to make head againſt a power already poſſeſſed of the empire of the ſea: This perhaps may be the only thing which money

* [See *L'Eſprit des Loix*, l. xxi. c. 9.]

cannot

cannot of itſelf effect; and though a great * monarch in our days ſucceeded immediately in an attempt of this kind, experience has proved to others †, that ſuch an example is to be admired rather than imitated.

The ſecond Punic war made ſo much noiſe in the world, that it is known to every one: When we ſurvey attentively the croud of obſtacles which ſtarted up before HANNIBAL, and reflect, that this extraordinary man ſurmounted them all, we view the moſt auguſt ſpectacle that antiquity can poſſibly exhibit.

Rome was a miracle in conſtancy and reſolution after the battles of Ticinus, of Trebia, and Traſymenus; after the defeat at Cannæ, which was ſtill more fatal to them, though they ſaw themſelves abandoned by moſt of the nations in Italy, yet they would not ſue for peace; and for this reaſon, the ſenate never once receded from their ancient maxims: They conducted themſelves towards Hannibal, in the ſame manner as they had before behaved with regard to Pyrrhus, to whom they refuſed all terms of accommodation, till ſuch time as he ſhould leave Italy; and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus ‡ informs us, that, when Coriolanus was treating with the Romans, the ſenate declared they would never infringe their ancient cuſtoms; that their people could not conclude a

* Lewis XIV. † Spain and Muſcovy.

‡ Antiq. Rom. lib. viii.

peace ſo long as the enemy ſhould continue in their territories; but that in caſe the Volſcians would think fit to retire, they then ſhould agree to any terms that were juſt and reaſonable.

Rome was ſaved by the ſtrength and vigour of its inſtitution; after the battle of Cannæ, their very women were not allowed to ſhed tears; the ſenate refuſed to ranſom the priſoners, and ſent the miſerable remains of the army to carry on the war in Sicily, unrecompenſed, and deprived of every military honour, till ſuch time as Hannibal was driven out of Italy.

On the other ſide, Terentius Varro the conſul had fled ignominiouſly as far as Venuſia: This Man, whoſe extraction was very mean, had been raiſed to the conſulſhip merely to mortify the nobles. However the ſenate would not enjoy the unhappy triumph: They ſaw how neceſſary it was for them to gain the confidence of the people on this occaſion; they therefore went out to meet Varro, and returned him thanks for not deſpairing of the ſafety of the commonwealth.

It is commonly not the real loſs ſuſtained in a battle (that of the ſlaughter of ſome thouſand men), which proves fatal to a ſtate, but the imaginary loſs, the general damp, which deprives it even of that ſtrength and vigour which fortune had left it.

Some things are aſſerted by all men, becauſe they have been aſſerted once: It is thought

Hannibal

Hannibal committed an egregious error, in not laying siege to Rome after the battle of Cannæ? It must be confessed, that the inhabitants of the former were at first seized with a panic; but then the surprize and dread of a martial people, which always turns to bravery, is not like that of a despicable populace, who are sensible to nothing but their weakness: A proof Hannibal would not have succeeded, is, that the Romans were still powerful enough to send succours where any were wanted.

It is also said, that Hannibal was greatly overseen, in marching his army to Capua, where his soldiers enervated themselves; but people who make these assertions should consider, that they do not go back to the true cause of it: Would not every place have proved a Capua to a body of men, who had enriched themselves with the spoils of so many victories? Alexander, whose army consisted of his own subjects, made use, on the like occasion, of an expedient which Hannibal, whose army was composed wholly of mercenaries, could not employ; and this was, the setting fire to the baggage of his soldiers, and burning all their wealth and his own.

We are told that Kouli Khan, after his conquest of the Indies, left to the share of each soldier no more than one hundred and fifty silver roupees.

The very conquests of Hannibal began to change the fortune of the war: He did not receive any succours from Carthage, either by

the jealousy of one party *, or the too great confidence of the other: So long as he kept his whole army together, he always defeated the Romans; but when he was obliged to put garrisons into cities, to defend his allies, to besiege strong holds or prevent their being besieged, he then found himself too weak, and lost a great part of his army by piece-meal. Conquests are easily made, because we atchieve them with our whole force; they are retained with difficulty, because we defend them with only a part of our forces.

CHAP. V.

The State of Greece, of Macedonia, of Syria, and of Egypt, after the Depression of Carthage.

I imagine Hannibal did not abound in witticisms, especially in favour of Fabius and Marcellus against himself. I am sorry to see Livy strew his flowers on these enormous colossuses of antiquity: I wish he had done like Homer, who neglects embellishing them, and knew so well how to put them in motion.

Besides, what Hannibal is made to speak, ought to have common sense: but if, on hear-

* [How was it possible for Carthage to maintain her ground? When Hannibal upon his being prætor, attempted to hinder the magistrates from plundering the republic, did they not complain of him to the Romans? Wretches, that wanted to be citizens without a city, and to be beholden for their riches, to their very destroyers! *L'Esprit des Loix*, l. iii. c. 3. See likewise l. x. c. 6.]

ing

ing the defeat of his brother, he ſaid publicly, that it was the prelude of the ruin of Carthage; could any thing have a greater tendency to drive to deſpair a people, who had placed their confidence in him, and to diſcourage an army which expected ſuch high recompences after the war?

As the Carthaginians loſt every battle they fought, either in Spain, in Sicily, or in Sardinia; Hannibal, whoſe enemies were fortifying themſelves inceſſantly, whilſt very inconſiderable reinforcements were ſent him, was reduced to the neceſſity of engaging in a defenſive war: This ſuggeſted to the Romans the deſign of making Africa the ſeat of war: Accordingly Scipio went into that part of the world, and ſo great was his ſucceſs, that the Carthaginians were forced to recal from Italy Hannibal, who went for grief at his ſurrendering to the Romans thoſe very plains, in which he had ſo often triumphed over them.

Whatever is in the power of a great general and a great ſoldier to perform, all this Hannibal did to ſave his country: Having fruitleſsly endeavoured to bring Scipio to pacific terms, he fought a battle, in which fortune ſeemed to delight in confounding his ability, his experience, and good ſenſe.

Carthage received the conditions of peace, not from an enemy, but from a ſovereign; the citizens of it obliged themſelves to pay ten thouſand talents in fifty years, to give hoſtages,

to

to deliver up their ships and elephants, and not to engage in any war without the consent of the Romans; and in order that this republic might always continue in a dejected state, the victors heightened the power of Masinissa, its irreconcileable enemy.

After the depression of Carthage, the Romans were scarce engaged but in petty wars, and obtained mighty victories; whereas before, they had obtained but petty victories and been engaged in mighty wars.

There were in these times two worlds, as it were, separate from each other; in one, the Carthaginians and Romans fought, and the other was shaken by the feuds and divisions which had subsisted ever since the death of Alexander: In the latter, no regard was had* to the transactions of the western world. For though Philip king of Macedon had concluded a treaty with Hannibal, yet very little resulted from it; and this monarch, who gave the Carthaginians but very inconsiderable succours, just shewed the Romans that he bore them a fruitless ill will.

When two mighty people are seen to wage a long and obstinate war, it is often in policy to imagine that it is safe for the rest of the world

* It is surprising, as Josephus observes in his treatise against Appion, that neither Herodotus nor Thucydides make the least mention of the Romans, though they had been engaged in such mighty wars.

to

to continue as ſo many idle ſpectators, for which ſoever of the two people triumphs over the other, engages immediately in new wars; and a nation of ſoldiers marches and invades nations who are but ſo many citizens.

This was very manifeſt in thoſe ages, for ſcarce had the Romans ſubjected the Carthaginians, but they immediately invaded other nations, and appeared in all parts of the earth, carrying on an univerſal invaſion.

There were at that time in the eaſt but four powers capable of making head againſt the Romans; Greece, the kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt: We muſt take a view of the condition, at that time, of the two firſt of thoſe powers; becauſe the Romans began by ſubjecting them.

There were three conſiderable people in Greece, the Ætolians, the Achaians, and the Bœotians; theſe were ſo many aſſociations formed by free cities, which had their general aſſemblies and magiſtrates in common. The Ætolians were martial, bold, raſh, greedy of gain, very laviſh of their promiſes and oaths; in fine, a people who warred on land in the ſame manner as pirates do at ſea. The Achaians were incommoded perpetually by troubleſome neighbours or defenders. The Bœotians, who were the moſt heavy people of all Greece, but at the ſame time the wiſeſt, lived generally in peace; guided entirely by a ſenſation of happineſs and miſery, they had not genius

enough

enough to be either rouzed or miſguided by orators. What is moſt extraordinary, their republic ſubſiſted even in the midſt of anarchy.

Lacedæmon had preſerved its power, by which I mean that warlike ſpirit which the inſtitutions of Lycurgus inſpired. The Theſſalians were, in ſome meaſure, enſlaved by the Macedonians. The Illyrian kings had already been very much depreſſed by the Romans. The Acarnanians and Athamanes had been cruelly infeſted by the troops of Macedon and Ætolia ſucceſſively. The Athenians †, weak in themſelves and unſupported by ‡ allies, no longer aſtoniſhed the world; except by the flatteries they laviſhed on kings: and the orators no more aſcended the roſtra where Demoſthenes had harangued, unleſs to propoſe the baſeſt and moſt ſcandalous decrees.

† The magiſtrates, to pleaſe the multitude, did not even the cruelty of juſtice: and the dying bequeathed their effects to their friends, to be laid out in feaſts. See a fragment of the xxth book of Polybius, in the *Extract of Virtues and Vices*.

‡ Juſtin lib. ix. attributes the extinction of Athenian virtue to the death of Epaminondas. Having no further emulation, they ſpent their revenues in feaſts, *frequentius cœnam quam caſtra viſentes*. Then it was that the Macedonians emerged out of obſcurity. *L'eſprit des Loix*, liv. x. c. 6.

Thy were not engaged in any alliance with the other nations of Greece. Polyb. lib. viii.

Beſides

Beſides, Greece was formidable from its ſituation, its ſtrength, the multitude of its cities, the great number of its ſoldiers, its polity, manners, and laws; the Greeks delighted in war; they knew the whole art of it; and, had they united, would have been invincible.

They indeed had been terrified by the firſt Philip, by Alexander, and by Antipater, but not ſubdued; and the kings of Macedon, who could not prevail with themſelves to lay aſide their pretenſions and their hopes, made the moſt obſtinate attempts to enſlave them.

The greateſt part of Macedonia was ſurrounded with inacceſſible mountains; the inhabitants of it were formed by nature for war; courageous, obedient, induſtrious, and indefatigable; and theſe qualities muſt neceſſarily have been owing to the climate, ſince the natives of it are, to this day, the beſt ſoldiers in the Turkiſh empire.

Greece maintained itſelf by a kind of balance. The Lacedemonians were generally in alliance with the Etolians, and the Macedonians with the Achaians; but the arrival of the Romans quite deſtroyed the equilibrium.

As the the kings of Macedonia were not able to maintain a large body of troops, the leaſt loſs was of conſequence to them; beſides, it was difficult for theſe monarchs to aggrandize themſelves; becauſe, as their ambitious views were not unknown, other nations kept a watchful eye over every ſtep they took; and the ſucceſſes

they

they obtained in the wars undertaken for the sake of their allies, was an evil which these very allies endeavoured immediately to remedy.

But the kings of Macedonia generally possessed great talents; their monarchy was not like those which proceed for ever in the same steps that were taken at the foundation of them, instructed perpetually by dangers and experience, involved in all the disputes of Greece, it was necessary for them either to bribe the principal magistrates of cities, to raise a mist before the eyes of nations, or to divide or unite their interests, in a word, they were obliged to expose, every moment, their persons to the greatest dangers.

Philip, who in the beginning of his reign had won the love and confidence of the Greeks by his moderation, changed on a sudden, he became * a cruel tyrant, at a time when he ought to have behaved with justice, both from policy and ambition. He saw, though at a distance, the Romans possessed of numberless forces, he had concluded the war to the advantage of his allies, and was reconciled to the Romans. It was natural he should now endeavour to unite all the Greeks with himself, in order to prevent the Romans from settling in their country; but so far from this, he exasperated them by petty usurpations, and trifled away his time in examining affairs of little or no consequence, at a

* See Polyb. who relates the unjust and cruel actions by which Philip lost the favour of the people.

time

time when his very existence was endangered by the commission of three or four evil actions, he made himself odious and detestable to all Greece.

The Ætolians were most exasperated, and the Romans snatching the opportunity of this resentment, or rather of their folly, made an alliance with them, entred Greece, and armed it against Philip. This prince was defeated at the battle of Cynocephalæ, and the victory was partly gained by the valour of the Ætolians. So much was he intimidated upon this, that he concluded a treaty, which was not so properly a peace, as the renouncing his own strength; for he evacuated his garrisons in all Greece, delivered up his ships, and bound himself under an obligation of paying a thousand talents in ten years.

Polybius compares, with his usual good sense, the disposition of the Roman armies with that of the Macedonians, which was observed by all the kings who succeeded Alexander: he points out the conveniences, as well as inconveniencies, of the phalanx and of the legion: He prefers the disposition used by the Romans, in which he very probably was right, since all the battles fought at that time shew it to have been preferable. The circumstance which had contributed very much to the danger to which the Romans were exposed in the second Punic war, was, Hannibal's presently arming his soldiers after the Roman manner; but the Greeks did not change either

either their arms or their way of fighting; and could not prevail with themselves to lay aside customs, by the observance of which they had performed such mighty things.

The success which the Romans obtained over Philip, was the greatest step they ever took towards a general conquest: To make sure of Greece, they employed all methods possible to depress the Ætolians, by whose assistance they had been subdued. They obtained, moreover, that every city of Greece which had been subject to Philip, or any other sovereign prince, should for the future be governed by its own laws. It is very evident, that these petty commonwealths must necessarily be dependent: The Greeks abandoned themselves to a stupid joy, and fondly imagined they were really free, because the Romans had declared them to be so.

The Ætolians, who had imagined they should bear sway in Greece, finding they had only brought themselves under subjection, were seized with the deepest grief, and as they had always formed desperate resolutions, they invited, in order to correct one extravagance by another, Antiochus king of Syria into Greece, in the same manner as they had before invited the Romans.

The kings of Syria were the most powerful of all Alexander's successors, they being possessed of almost all the dominions of Darius, Egypt excepted; but by the concurrence of several circumstances, their power had been much weakened.

Seleucus,

Seleucus, who founded the Syrian empire, had deſtroyed, towards the latter end of his life, the kingdom of Lyſimachus. During the feuds and diſtractions, ſeveral provinces took up arms; the kingdoms of Pergamus, of Cappadocia, and of Bithynia ſtarted up; but theſe petty, fearful ſtates, always conſidered the depreſſion of their former maſters as the making of their own fortune.

As the kings of Syria always beheld, with a moſt invidious eye, the felicity of the kingdom of Egypt, they bent their whole thoughts to the conqueſt of that country; by this means, neglecting the eaſt, they were diſpoſſeſſed of ſeveral provinces there, and but indifferently obeyed in the reſt.

In fine, the kings of Syria poſſeſſed upper and lower Aſia; but experience has ſhewn, that in this caſe, when the capital city and the chief forces are in the lower provinces of Aſia, there is no poſſibility of maintaining the upper ones; and on the contrary, when the ſeat of the empire is in the upper provinces, the monarch weakens himſelf by maintaining the lower ones. Neither the Perſian nor Syrian empires were ever ſo powerful as that of the Parthians, though theſe reigned over but part of the provinces which formed the dominions of thoſe two powers. Had Cyrus not conquered the kingdom of Lydia, had Seleucus continued in Babylon, and let the ſucceſſors of Antigonus poſſeſs the maritime

provinces, the Greeks would never have conquered the Perſian empire, nor the Romans that of Seleucus. Nature has preſcribed certain limits to ſtates, purpoſely to mortify the ambition of mortals: When the Romans ſtepped beyond thoſe limits, the greateſt part of them were deſtroyed by the Parthians *; when the Parthians preſumed to paſs them, they were forced immediately to retire back: And in our days, ſuch Turks as advanced beyond thoſe boundaries, were obliged to return whence they came.

The kings of Syria and Egypt had, in their reſpective dominions, two kinds of ſubjects, victorious nations, and nations vanquiſhed; the former, ſtill puffed up with the idea of their origin, were ruled with very great difficulty: They were not fired with that ſpirit of independance, which animates us to ſhake off the yoke, but with that impatience which makes us wiſh to change our ſovereign.

But the chief weakneſs of the kingdom of Syria ſprung from that of the court, where ſuch monarchs preſided as were ſucceſſors to Darius, not to Alexander. Luxury, vanity, and effeminacy, which have prevailed through all ages in the Aſiatic courts, triumphed more particularly in that of Syria: The evil infected the common people and the ſoldiers, and

* I have given the reaſon of this in the xv. chapter, borrowed partly from the geographical diſpoſition of the two empires.

catched

catched the very Romans themſelves; ſince the war in which they engaged againſt Antiochus, is the true æra of their corruption.

Such was the condition of the kingdom of Syria, when Antiochus, who had performed ſuch mighty things, declared war againſt the Romans; but he did not conduct himſelf in it with the wiſdom which is even employed in common affairs: Hannibal requeſted, either to have the war revived in Italy, and Philip bribed; or elſe, that he might be prevailed upon to ſtand neuter. Antiochus did not follow any part of this advice: He appeared in Greece with only a ſmall part of his forces: And as though he were come merely to ſee the war, not to carry it on, he followed nothing but his pleaſures, by which means he was defeated, and fled out of Aſia, terrified rather than conquered.

PHILIP, who was dragged to this war by the Romans, as though a flood had ſwept him along, employed his whole power in their ſervice, and became the inſtrument of their victories: The pleaſure of taking vengeance of, and laying waſte Ætolia; the promiſe made him of leſſening the tribute he paid, and of leaving him the poſſeſſion of certain cities; ſome perſonal jealouſy of Antiochus; in a word, a few inconſiderable motives ſwayed his reſolutions; and not daring ſo much as to think of ſhaking off the yoke, he only conſidered how he might beſt lighten it.

Antiochus formed ſo wrong a judgment of things, as to fancy that the Romans would not moleſt him in Aſia; however, they followed him thither; he was again overcome, and, in his conſternation, conſented to the moſt infamous treaty that ever was concluded by ſo mighty a prince.

I cannot recollect any thing ſo magnanimous, as a reſolution taken by a monarch in our days *, to bury himſelf under the ruins of the throne, rather than accept of terms unworthy of a king: So haughty was his ſoul, that he could not ſtoop lower than his misfortunes had thrown him; and he was very ſenſible, that courage may, but infamy never can, give freſh ſtrength to the regal diadem.

We often meet with princes who have ſkill enough to fight a battle, but with very few that have the talents requiſite for carrying on a war; who are equally capable of making a proper uſe of fortune, and of waiting for her; and who join to a frame of mind, which raiſes ſuſpicions before it executes, ſuch a diſpoſition as makes them fearleſs after they have once executed.

After the depreſſion of Antiochus, only ſome inconſiderable powers remained, if we except Egypt, which, from the advantage of its ſituation, its fertility, its commerce, the great number of its inhabitants, its naval and land

* Lewis XIV.

forces,

forces, might have been formidable; but the cruelty of its kings, their cowardice, their avarice, their imbecillity, and their enormous ſenſualities, made them ſo odious to their ſubjects, that they ſupported themſelves, for the moſt part, by the protection of the Romans.

It was a kind of fundamental law, with regard to the crown of Egypt, that the ſiſters ſhould ſucceed with the brothers; and in order to preſerve unity in the government, the brother was married to the ſiſter. Now, it is ſcarce poſſible to figure any thing more pernicious in politics than ſuch an order of ſucceſſion; for as all the little domeſtic feuds roſe ſo high as to diſorder the ſtate, whichſoever of the two parties had the leaſt diſcontent, immediately excited againſt the other the inhabitants of Alexandria, a numberleſs multitude, always prepared to join with the firſt of their kings who ſhould rouze them; ſo that there were for ever princes who actually reigned, and pretenders to the crown. And as the kingdoms of Cyrene and Cyprus were generally poſſeſſed by other princes of that houſe, who laid their reſpective claims to the whole; by that means, the throne of theſe princes was ever tottering; and being indifferently ſettled at home, they had no power abroad.

The forces of the kings of Egypt, like thoſe of the Aſiatic monarchs, were compoſed of auxiliary Greeks. Beſides the ſpirit of liberty,

of honour, and of glory, which animated the latter people, they were inceſſantly employed in bodily exerciſes of every kind. In all their chief cities games were inſtituted, wherein the victors were crowned in the preſence of all Greece, which raiſed a general emulation: Now, in an age when combatants fought with arms, the ſucceſs of which depended upon their ſtrength and dexterity, it is natural to ſuppoſe that men thus exerciſed, muſt have had a great advantage over a croud of barbarians, who were enliſted at random, and dragged indiſcriminately into the field, as was evident from the armies of Darius.

The Romans, in order to deprive the kings of ſuch a body of ſoldiery, and to bereave them, but in an eaſy, ſilent manner, of their principal forces, obſerved two things: Firſt, they eſtabliſhed, by inſenſible degrees, as a maxim, with reſpect to all the cities of Greece, that they ſhould not conclude any alliance, give any ſuccour, or make war againſt any nation whatſoever, without their conſent: Secondly, in their treaties with kings *, they forbad them to levy any forces from among the allies of the Romans, by which means, thoſe monarchs were reduced to employ their national troops only.

* They had before obſerved this political conduct with regard to the Carthaginians, whom they obliged, by the treaty concluded with them, to employ no longer auxiliary troops, as appears from a fragment of Dion.

That

That the reader may the better judge what little effect trade had in gaining Rome a ſuperiority over other nations, the following entertaining diſcourſe on that ſubject is inſerted from our author's *Spirit of Laws.*

The principal Difference between the Commerce of the Ancients and Moderns.

THE world from time to time takes ſuch different turns as totally change the face of commerce. The trade of Europe is at preſent carried on principally from the north to the ſouth; and the difference of the climates is the cauſe that the ſeveral nations have great occaſion for the merchandiſes of each other. For example, the liquors of the ſouth, which are carried to the north, form a commerce little known to the ancients. Thus the burden of veſſels, which was formerly computed by meaſures of corn, is at preſent determined by tons of liquor.

The ancient commerce, as far as it is known to us, being carried on from one port in the Mediterranean to another, was almoſt wholly confined to the ſouth. Now the people of the ſame climate, having nearly the ſame things of their own, have not the ſame need of trading amongſt themſelves as with thoſe of a different climate. The commerce of Europe was therefore formerly leſs extended than at preſent.

Commerce, ſometimes deſtroyed by conquerors, ſometimes cramped by monarchs, traverſes the earth, flying from the place where it is oppreſſed, and taking up its reſt where it is permitted to breathe freely: It reigns at preſent where nothing was formerly to be ſeen but deſarts, ſeas, and rocks; and where it once reigned, now there are only deſarts.

To ſee Colchis in its preſent ſituation, which is no more than a vaſt foreſt, where the people are every day decreaſing, and only defend their liberty to ſell themſelves by piece-meal to the Turks and Perſians; we could not imagine, that this country, in the time of the Romans, had been full of cities, to which commerce ſummoned all the nations of the earth. We find no monument of theſe facts in the country itſelf; there are no traces of them, except in Pliny * and Strabo †.

The hiſtory of commerce is a hiſtory of the intercourſe of people. Their numerous defeats, and the certain flux and reflux of deſolations and devaſtations, form in it the moſt extraordinary events.

The immenſe treaſures of Semiramis ‡, which could not have been the acquiſition of a day, give us reaſon to believe, that the Aſſyrians themſelves had pillaged other rich nations, as other nations afterwards pillaged them.

* Lib. vi. † Lib. ii.

‡ Diodorus, lib. ii.

The

The effect of commerce is riches; the conſequence of riches, luxury; and that of luxury, the perfection of arts. The height to which arts were carried in the time of Semiramis * is a ſufficient indication, that a conſiderable commerce was then eſtabliſhed.

There was a great commerce of luxury in the empires of Aſia. The hiſtory of luxury would make a fine part of that of commerce. The luxury of the Perſians was that of the Medes, as the luxury of the Medes was that of the Aſſyrians.

Great revolutions have happened in Aſia. The north-eaſt part of Perſia, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactria, *&c.* were formerly full of flouriſhing cities †, which are now no more; and the north of this empire ‡, that is, the iſthmus which ſeparates the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, was full of cities and nations, which are now deſtroyed.

Eratoſthenes ‖ and Ariſtobulus learnt from Patroclus, that the merchandiſes of India paſſed by the Oxus into the ſea of Pontus. Marcus Varro § tells us, that, at the time when Pompey commanded againſt Mithridates, they were

* Diodorus, lib. ii.

† Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 16. & Strabo, lib. xi.

‡ Strabo, lib. xi.

‖ Ibid.

§ In Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 17. See alſo Strabo, lib. xi. upon the paſſage by which the merchandiſes were conveyed from the Phaſis to the Cyrus.

informed,

informed, that they went in ſeven days from India to the country of the Bactrians, and to the river Icarus, which falls into the Oxus; that, by this means, they were able to bring the merchandiſes of India acroſs the Caſpian ſea, and to enter the mouth of the Cyrus; from whence it was only a five days paſſage to the Phaſis, a river which diſcharges itſelf into the Euxine ſea. There is no doubt but it was by the nations inhabiting theſe ſeveral countries, that the great empires of the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, had a communication with the moſt diſtant parts of the eaſt and weſt.

An entire ſtop is now put to this communication. All theſe countries have been laid waſte by the Tartars *, and are ſtill infeſted by that deſtructive nation. The Oxus no longer runs into the Caſpian ſea; the Tartars, for ſome private reaſons †, have changed its courſe, and it now loſes itſelf in the barren ſands.

* This is the reaſon why thoſe who have deſcribed this country, ſince it was in the poſſeſſion of the Tartars, have entirely miſrepreſented it. The chart of the Caſpian ſea, made by order of the late czar Peter I. has diſcovered the egregious errors of our modern charts, in relation to the figure of that ſea, which is found to be conformable to the repreſentation of the ancients. See Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 12.

† See an account of this in Jenkinſon's *Collection of Voyages to the North*, vol. iv.

The

The Iaxartes, which was formerly a barrier between the polite and barbarous nations, has had its courſe turned in the ſame manner by the Tartars, and it no longer empties itſelf into the ſea.

Seleucus Nicator formed * the project of joining the Euxine to the Caſpian ſea. This project, which would have greatly facilitated the commerce of thoſe days, vaniſhed at his death †. We are not certain it could have been executed in the iſthmus which ſeparates the two ſeas. This country is at preſent very little known; it is depopulated, and full of foreſts; however, water is not wanting, for an infinite number of rivers roll into it from mount Caucaſus: But as this mountain forms the north of the iſthmus, and extends like two arms ‡ towards the ſouth, it would have been a grand obſtacle to ſuch an enterprize, eſpecially in thoſe times when they had not the art of making ſluices.

It may be imagined, that Seleucus would have joined the two ſeas in the very place where Peter I. has ſince joined them; that is, in that neck of land where the Tanais approaches the Volga; but the north of the Caſpian ſea was not then diſcovered.

While the empires of Aſia enjoyed a commerce of luxury, the Tyrians carried on a com-

* Claudius Cæſar, in Plin. lib. vi. cap. 11.
† He was ſlain by Ptolemy Ceraunus.
‡ See Strabo, lib. xi.

merce

merce of œconomy, which they extended through the world. Bochart has employed the firſt book of his Canaan in enumerating the colonies which they ſent into all the countries bordering upon the ſea: They paſſed the Pillars of Hercules, and made ſettlements * on the coaſts of the ocean.

The little knowlege the greateſt part of the world had of thoſe who were far diſtant from them, favoured the nations engaged in the œconomical commerce. They carried on their trade with as much obſcurity as they pleaſed, having all the advantages which the moſt intelligent nations enjoy over the moſt ignorant.

The Egyptians, a people ſeparated by their religion and their manners from all communication with ſtrangers, had at that time ſcarce any foreign trade. They enjoyed a fruitful ſoil, and great plenty. Their country was the Japan of thoſe times; it poſſeſſed every thing within itſelf.

So little jealous were theſe people of commerce, that they left that of the Red-ſea to all the petty nations which had any harbours upon it. Here they ſuffered the Idumæans, the Aſſyrians, and the Jews to have fleets. Solomon † employed in this navigation the Aſſyrians, who knew theſe ſeas.

* They founded Tarteſſus, and made a ſettlement at Cadiz.

† 1 Kings, ix. 2 Chron. viii.

Joſephus

Joſephus * ſays, that this nation, being entirely employed in agriculture, knew little of navigation: The Jews therefore traded only occaſionally in the Red-ſea. They took from the Idumæans Elath and Aſiongeber, from whom they received this commerce; they loſt theſe two cities, and with them loſt this commerce.

It was not ſo with the Phœnicians; theirs was not a commerce of luxury; nor was their trade owing to conqueſt: Their frugality, their abilities, their induſtry, their perils, and the hardſhips they ſuffered, rendered them neceſſary to all the nations of the world.

Before Alexander, the people bordering on the Red-ſea traded only in this ſea, and in that of Africa. Of this, the aſtoniſhment of the univerſe at the diſcovery of the Indian ſea under that conqueror, is a ſufficient proof. I have obſerved, that bullion was always carried to the Indies, and never any brought from thence; the Jewiſh fleets, which brought gold and ſilver by the way of the Red-ſea, returned from Africa, and not from the Indies. I add, this navigation was made on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; for the ſtate of navigation at that time is a convincing proof, that they did not ſail to a very diſtant ſhore.

I am not ignorant, that the fleets of Solomon and Jehoſaphat returned only every three

* Againſt Appion.

years;

years; but I do not ſee that the time taken up in the voyage is any proof of the greatneſs of the diſtance.

Pliny and Strabo inform us, that the junks of India and the Red-ſea were twenty days in performing a voyage, which a Grecian or Roman veſſel would accompliſh in ſeven *. In this proportion, a voyage of one year made by the fleets of Greece or Rome, would take very near three, when performed by thoſe of Solomon.

We find from hiſtory, that, before the diſcovery of the mariners compaſs, four attempts were made to ſail round the coaſt of Africa. The Phœnicians ſent by Necho †, and Eudoxus ‡, flying from the wrath of Ptolemy Laturus, ſet out from the Red-ſea, and ſucceeded. Satarpes ‖ ſent by Xerxes, and Hanno by the Carthaginians, ſet out from the Pillars of Hercules, and failed of ſucceſs.

The capital point in ſurrounding Africa was, to diſcover and double the cape of Good-hope. Thoſe who ſet out from the Red-ſea found this cape nearer by half, than it would have been in ſetting out from the Mediterranean. The ſhore from the Red-ſea is not ſo ſhallow,

* See Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 22. and Strabo, lib. xv.

† He was deſirous of conquering it. Herodotus, lib. iv.

‡ Pliny, lib. ii. cap. 67. Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. cap. 9.

‖ Herodotus in Melpomene.

as

as that from the cape * to Hercules's Pillars. The diſcovery of the cape by Hercules's Pillars was owing to the invention of the compaſs, which permitted them to leave the coaſt of Africa, and to launch out † into the great ocean, in order to ſail towards the iſland of St. Helena, or towards the coaſt of Braſil. It was therefore very poſſible for them to ſail from the Red-ſea into the Mediterranean, but not to ſet out from the Mediterranean to return by the Red-ſea.

Thus, without making this grand circuit, after which they could hardly ever hope to return, it was moſt natural to trade to the eaſt of Africa by the Red-ſea, and to the weſtern coaſt by Hercules's Pillars.

The firſt Greeks were all pirates. Minos, who enjoyed the empire of the ſea, was only more ſucceſsful, perhaps, than others in piracy; for his maritime dominion extended no further than round his own iſle. But when the Greeks became a great people, the Athenians obtained the real dominion of the ſea; becauſe this trading and victorious nation gave

* Add to this what I ſhall ſay hereafter, on the navigation of Hanno.

† In the months of October, November, December, and January, the wind in the Atlantic ocean is found to blow north-eaſt; our ſhips therefore either croſs the line, and to avoid the wind, which is there generally at eaſt, they direct their courſe to the ſouth; or elſe they enter into the torrid zone, in thoſe places where the wind is at weſt.

laws

laws to the moſt potent monarch * of that time; and humbled the maritime powers of Syria, of the iſle of Cyprus, and Phœnicia.

But this Athenian lordſhip of the ſeas deſerves to be more particularly mentioned. "*Athens*, ſays Xenophon †, *rules the ſea; but* "*as the country of Attica is joined to the conti-* "*nent, it is ravaged by enemies, while the* "*Athenians are engaged in diſtant expeditions.* "*Their leaders ſuffer their lands to be deſtroyed;* "*and ſecure their wealth, by ſending it to ſome* "*iſland. The populace, who are not poſſeſſed of* "*lands, have no uneaſineſs. But if the Athe-* "*nians inhabited an iſland, and, beſides this,* "*enjoyed the empire of the ſea, they would, as* "*long as they were poſſeſſed of theſe advantages,* "*be able to annoy others, and at the ſame time* "*be out of all danger of being annoyed.*" One would imagine Xenophon was ſpeaking of England.

The Athenians, a people whoſe heads were filled with the moſt glorious projects; the Athenians, who excited jealouſy, inſtead of extending their influence, who were more attentive to enlarge their maritime empire than to enjoy it, whoſe political government was ſuch that the common people diſtributed the public revenues amongſt themſelves, while the rich were in a ſtate of oppreſſion; the Athe-

* The king of Perſia.
† On the Athenian Republic.

nians,

nians, I ſay, did not carry on ſo extenſive a commerce as might be expected from the produce of their mines, from the multitude of their ſlaves, from the number of their ſeamen, from their influence over the cities of Greece, and, above all, from the excellent inſtitutions of Solon. Their trade was almoſt wholly confined to Greece, and to the Euxine ſea; from whence they drew their ſubſiſtence.

Corinth ſeparated two ſeas, it was the key which opened and ſhut the Peloponneſus and all Greece; it was a city of the greateſt importance, at a time when the people of Greece were a world, and the cities of Greece nations. Its trade was very extenſive, having a port to receive the merchandiſes of Aſia; and another, thoſe of Italy: For the great difficulties which attended the doubling cape Malea, where the meeting * of oppoſite winds occaſions ſhipwrecks, induced every one to go to Corinth, and they could even convey their veſſels over land from one ſea to the other. Never was there a city, in which the works of art were carried to ſo high a degree of perfection. But here religion finiſhed the corruption, which their opulence began. They erected a temple to Venus, in which more than a thouſand courtiſans were conſecrated to that deity; from this ſeminary came the greateſt part of thoſe ce-

* See Strabo, lib. viii.

lebrated beauties, whoſe hiſtory Athenæus has preſumed to commit to writing.

Four great events happened in the reign of Alexander, which entirely changed the face of commerce; the taking of Tyre, the conqueſt of Egypt, that likewiſe of the Indies, and the diſcovery of the ſea which lies ſouth of thoſe countries. The Greeks of Egypt found themſelves in a ſituation to carry on a prodigious commerce; they were maſters of the ports of the Red-ſea; Tyre, the rival of all the trading nations, was no more; they were not conſtrained by the ancient ſuperſtitions * of the country; Egypt was become the centre of the univerſe.

The empire of Perſia extended to the Indus †. Darius, long before Alexander, had ſent ſome veſſels ‡ which ſailed down this river, and paſſed even into the Red-ſea. How then were the Greeks the firſt who traded to the Indies by the ſouth? Had not the Perſians done this before? Did they make no advantage of ſeas which were ſo near them; of the very ſeas that waſhed their coaſts? Alexander, it is true, conquered the Indies; but was it neceſſary for him to conquer a country, in order to trade with it? This is what I ſhall now examine.

* Which inſpired an averſion for ſtrangers.

† Strabo, lib. xv.

‡ Herodotus in Melpomene.

Ariana,

Ariana *, which extended from the Perſian Gulf as far as the Indus, and from the South-ſea to the mountains of Paropamiſus, depending indeed in ſome meaſure on the empire of Perſia: But in the ſouthern part it was barren, ſcorched, rude, and uncultivated. Tradition † relates, that the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus periſhed in theſe deſarts; and Alexander, who cauſed his fleet to follow him, could not avoid loſing in this place a great part of his army. The Perſians left the whole coaſt to the Ichthyophagi ‡, the Oritæ, and other barbarous nations. Beſides, the Perſians were no great ſailors ‖, and their very religion debarred them from all notions of maritime commerce. The voyage undertaken by Darius's direction upon the Indus and the Indian ſea, was rather the caprice of a prince ambitious of ſhewing his power, than any regular project of a monarch intent upon exerciſing it. It was attended with no conſequence, either to the advantage of commerce, or navigation. They emerged from their ignorance, only to plunge into it again.

* Strabo, lib. xv.

† Ibid.

‡ Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 23. Strabo, lib. xv.

‖ They ſailed not upon the rivers, leſt they ſhould defile the elements. Hyde's *Religion of the Perſians*. Even to this day they have no maritime commerce. Thoſe who take to the ſea, are treated by them as atheiſts.

Beſides, it was a received opinion * before the expedition of Alexander, that the ſouthern parts of India were uninhabitable †. This proceeded from a tradition ‡ that Semiramis had brought back from thence only twenty men, and Cyrus but ſeven.

Alexander entered by the north. His deſign was to march towards the eaſt: But having found a part to the ſouth full of great nations, cities, and rivers, he attempted the conqueſt of it, and effected it.

He then formed the deſign of uniting the Indies to the weſtern nations by a maritime commerce, as he had already united them by the colonies he had eſtabliſhed by land.

He cauſed a fleet to be built on the Hydaſpes, fell down that river, entered the Indus, and ſailed even to its mouth. The fleet followed the coaſt from the Indus along the banks of the country of the Oritæ, and the Ichthyophagi, of Carmania and Perſia. He built cities, and forbad the Ichthyophagi ‖ from living on fiſh, being determined to have the borders of this ſea inhabited by civilized nations. Oneſecritus and Nearchus kept § a journal of this voyage, which took up ten months. They

* Strabo, lib. xv.

† Herodotus (in Melpomene) ſays, that Darius conquered the Indies; he muſt be underſtood to mean only Ariana; and even this was only an ideal conqueſt.

‡ Ibid.

‖ Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 20.

§ Ibid.

arrived

arrived at Suſa, where they found Alexander, who gave an entertainment to his whole army. He had left the fleet at Patala *, to go thither by land.

This conqueror had founded Alexandria, with a view of ſecuring his conqueſts of Egypt; this was a key to open it in the very place where the kings his predeceſſors † had a key to ſhut it; and he had not the leaſt thought of a commerce, which the diſcovery of the Indian ſea could alone ſuggeſt to him.

The kings of Syria left the commerce of the ſouth to thoſe of Egypt, and attached themſelves only to the northern trade, which was carried on by means of the Oxus and the Caſpian ſea. At that time they imagined this ſea was a part of the northern ocean ‡. Seleucus and Antiochus applied themſelves to make diſcoveries in it, with a particular attention; and with this view they ſcoured it with their fleets ‖. That part which Seleucus ſurveyed, was called the Seleucidian ſea; that which Antiochus diſcovered, received the name

* A city in the iſland of Patalena, at the mouth of the Indus.

† Alexandria was founded on a flat ſhore, called Racotis, where the former kings had kept a garriſon to prevent all ſtrangers, and more particularly the Greeks, from entering the country. Pliny, lib. v. cap. 10. Strabo, lib. xvii.

‡ Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 12. and Strabo, lib. xi. p. 507.

‖ Pliny, lib. ii. cap. 67.

of the Sea of Antiochus. Attentive to the projects they might have of attacking from thence the back of Europe by Gaul and Germany, they neglected the ſeas on the ſouth; whether it was that the Ptolemies, by means of their fleets on the Red-ſea, were already become the maſters of it; or that they had diſcovered ſuch an invincible averſion in the Perſians to maritime affairs; or, in fine, that the general ſubmiſſion of all the people in the ſouth left no room for them to flatter themſelves with the hopes of further conqueſts.

I muſt own, the obſtinacy of the ancients appears to me unaccountable, in believing that the Caſpian ſea was a part of the ocean. The expedition of Alexander, of the kings of Syria, of the Parthians, and the Romans, could not make them change their ſentiments; and yet they deſcribed the Caſpian ſea with a wonderful exactneſs: But we ſeldom quit our errors till we are forced to it. At firſt they knew only the ſouth of this ſea, and took it for the ocean; in proportion as they avanced along the banks of the northern coaſt, inſtead of imagining it a great lake, they ſtill believed it to be the ocean, which here made a ſort of bay; when they had almoſt finiſhed is circuit, and had quite ſurveyed the northern coaſt, though their eyes were then opened, yet they ſhut them once more; and took the mouth of the Volga for a ſtrait, or a prolongation of the ocean.

The

The land army of Alexander had been only on the eaſt as far as the Hypanis, which is the laſt of thoſe rivers that fall into the Indus: Thus the firſt trade which the Greeks carried on to the Indies was confined to a very ſmall part of the country. Seleucus Nicator penetrated as far as the Ganges *, and by that means diſcovered the ſea into which this river falls, that is to ſay, the bay of Bengal. The moderns diſcover countries by voyages at ſea; the ancients diſcovered ſeas by conqueſts at land.

Strabo †, notwithſtanding the teſtimony of Apollodorus, ſeems to doubt whether the Grecian ‡ kings of Bactriana proceeded further than Seleucus and Alexander. I am apt to think they went no further to the eaſt, and that they did not paſs the Ganges: But they went further towards the ſouth: They diſcovered ‖ Siger, and the ports in Guzarat and Malabar, which gave riſe to the navigation I am going to mention.

Pliny § informs us, that in ſailing to the Indies they took ſucceſſively three different courſes. At firſt, they ſailed from cape Syagros to the iſland of Patalene, which is at the mouth of the Indus. This we find was the courſe

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 17. † Lib. xv.

‡ Apollonius Adramyttenus in Strabo, lib. xi.

‖ The Macedonians of Bactriana, India, and Ariana, having ſeparated themſelves from Syria, formed a great ſtate.

§ Lib. vi. cap. 23.

that Alexander's fleet ſteered to the Indies. They found afterwards * a ſhorter and more certain paſſage, by ſailing from the ſame cape to Siger: This can be no other than the kingdom of Siger, mentioned by Strabo †, and diſcovered by the Grecian kings of Bactriana. Pliny, by ſaying that this way was ſhorter than the other, can mean only that the voyage was made in leſs time: For as the Siger was diſcovered by the kings of Bactriana, it muſt have been further than the Indus: By this paſſage they muſt therefore have avoided the winding of certain coaſts, and taken advantage of particular winds. The merchants at laſt took a third way: they ſailed to Cane, or Ocelis, ports ſituated at the entrance of the Red-ſea; from whence, by a weſt wind, they arrived at Muziris, the firſt ſtaple town of the Indies, and from thence to the other ports.

Here we ſee, that inſtead of ſailing to the north of the Red-ſea as far as Syagros, by coaſting Arabia Felix to the north-eaſt, they ſteered directly from weſt to eaſt, from one ſide to the other, by means of the trade-winds, whoſe regular courſe they diſcovered by ſailing in theſe latitudes. The ancients never loſt ſight of the coaſts, but when they took advantage of theſe winds, which were to them a kind of compaſs.

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 23.

† Lib. xi. Sigertidis regnum.

Pliny

Pliny * ſays, that they ſet ſail for the Indies in the middle of ſummer, and returned towards the end of December, or in the beginning of January. This is intirely conformable to our naval journals. In that part of the Indian ſea which is between the peninſula of Africa, and that on the other ſide the Ganges, there are two monſoons; the firſt, during which the winds blow from weſt to eaſt, begins in the month of Auguſt or September; and the ſecond, during which the wind is in the eaſt, begins in January. Thus we ſet ſail from Africa for Malabar, at the ſeaſon of the year that Ptolemy's fleet uſed to ſet out from thence; and we return too at the ſame time as they.

Alexander's fleet was ſeven months in ſailing from Patala to Suſa. It ſet ſail in the month of July, that is, at a ſeaſon when no ſhip dare now to put to ſea to return from the Indies. Between theſe two monſoons there is an interval of time, during which the winds vary; when a north-wind, meeting with the common winds, raiſes, eſpecially near the coaſts, terrible tempeſts. Theſe continue during the months of June, July, and Auguſt. Alexander's fleet, therefore, ſetting ſail from Patala in the month of July, muſt have been expoſed to many ſtorms, and the voyage muſt have been long, becauſe they ſailed againſt the trade-wind.

Pliny ſays, that they ſet out for the Indies at the end of ſummer; thus they ſpent the

* Lib. vi. cap. 23.

time,

time, which ought to have been employed in taking advantage of the trade-wind, in working a paſſage from Alexandria to the Red-ſea.

Obſerve here, I pray, how navigation has by little and little arrived to perfection. Darius's fleet was two years and a half * in falling down the Indus, and going to the Red-ſea. Afterwards the fleet of Alexander †, ſailing through the Indus, arrived at Suſa in ten months, having ſpent three months on the Indus, and ſeven on the Indian ſea: At laſt, the paſſage from the coaſt of Malabar to the Red-ſea was made in forty days ‡.

Strabo ‖, who accounts for their ignorance of the countries between the Hypanis and the Ganges, ſays, that there were very few of thoſe who ſailed from Egypt to the Indies, that ever proceeded ſo far as the Ganges. Their fleets, in fact, never went thither: They ſailed with the weſtern trade-winds from the mouth of the Red-ſea to the coaſt of Malabar. They caſt anchor in the ports along that coaſt, and never attempted to get round the peninſula on this ſide the Ganges by cape Comorin and the coaſt of Coromandel. The plan of navigation laid down by the kings of Egypt and the Romans was, to ſet out and return the ſame year §.

* Herodotus in Melpomene.
† Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 23.
‡ Ibid. ‖ Lib. xv. § Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 23.

Thus

Thus it is demonſtrable, that the Greeks and Romans carried on a much leſs extenſive commerce to the Indies than we do; we, who know immenſe countries, which to them were entirely unknown; who traffic with all the Indian nations; who even manage their trade, and in our bottoms carry on their commerce.

But this commerce of the ancients was carried on with far greater facility than ours. And if the moderns were to trade only to the coaſt of Guzarat and Malabar, and, without ſeeking for the ſouthern iſles, were ſatisfied with what theſe iſlanders brought them, they would certainly prefer the way of Egypt to that of the cape of Good-hope. Strabo * informs us, that they traded thus with the people of Taprobane.

Ptolemy the † geographer extends the eaſtern part of known Africa to cape Praſum, and Arrian ‡ bounds it by cape Raptum. Our beſt maps place cape Praſum at Moſambique, in fourteen degrees and a half ſouth latitude, and cape Raptum, at about ten degrees of the ſame latitude. But as the country extending from the kingdom of Ajan (a kingdom which indeed produces no merchandiſe) becomes richer in proportion as it approaches to the ſouth, as far as the country of Sofala, where

* Lib. xv. † Lib. iv. cap. 7. & lib. viii.
‡ See the Periple of the Erythrean ſea.

lies

lies the ſource of riches; it appears at firſt view aſtoniſhing, that they ſhould have thus retrograded towards the north, inſtead of advancing to the ſouth.

In proportion as their knowledge increaſed, navigation and trade extended themſelves on the coaſt of India, and deſerted that of Africa. A rich and eaſy commerce made them neglect one leſs lucrative, and more full of difficulties. The eaſtern coaſt of Africa was leſs known than in the time of Solomon; and though Ptolemy ſpeaks of cape Praſum, it was rather a place which had been formerly known, than know at that time. Arrian * bounds the known country at cape Raptum, becauſe at that time they went no further. And though † Marcian of Heraclea extends it to cape Praſum, his authority is of no weight: For he himſelf confeſſes ‡, that he copies from Artemidorus, and Artemidorus from Ptolemy.

Carthage increaſed her power by her riches, and afterwards her riches by her power. Being miſtreſs of the coaſts of Africa, which are waſhed by the Mediterranean, ſhe extended herſelf along the ocean. Hanno, by order of the ſenate of Carthage, diſtributed thirty thouſand Carthaginians from Hercules's Pillars as

* Ptolemy and Arrian were nearly cotemporaries.

† His work is to be found in a collection of the ſmall pieces of the Grecian geographers, printed at Oxford in 1698. Vol. I. pag. 10.

‡ Ibid. pag. 1, 2.

far

far as Cerne. This place, he ſays, is as far from Hercules's Pillars, as the latter from Carthage. This ſituation is extremely remarkable. It lets us ſee, that Hanno limited his ſettlements to the 25th degree of north latitude, that is, to two or three degrees ſouth of the Canaries.

Hanno being at Cerne, undertook another voyage, with a view of making further diſcoveries towards the ſouth. He took but little notice of the continent. He followed the coaſt for twenty-ſix days, when he was obliged to return for want of proviſions. The Carthaginians, it ſeems, made no uſe of this ſecond enterprize. Scylax * ſays, that the ſea is not † navigable beyond Cerne, becauſe it is ſhallow, full of mud and ſea-weeds: And, in fact, there are many of theſe in thoſe ‡ latitudes. The Carthaginian merchants, mentioned by Scylax, might find obſtacles, which Hanno, who had ſixty veſſels of fifty oars each, had ſurmounted. Difficulties are at moſt but relative; beſides, we ought not to confound an enterprize, in

* See his Periplus, under the article of Carthage.

† See Herodotus in Melpomene, on the obſtacles which Sataſpe encountered.

‡ See the charts and narrations in the firſt volume of *Voyages that contributed to the eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt-India company*, part I. pag. 201. This weed covers the ſurface of the ſea in ſuch a manner that it can ſcarcely be perceived, and veſſels can only paſs through it with a ſtiff gale.

which

which bravery and reſolution muſt be exerted, with things that require no extraordinary conduct.

The relation of Hanno's voyage is a fine fragment of antiquity. It was written by the very man that performed it. His recital is not mingled with oſtentation. Great commanders write their actions with ſimplicity; becauſe they receive more glory from facts, than from words. The ſtyle is agreeable to the ſubject: He deals not in the marvellous. All he ſays of the climate, of the ſoil, the behaviour, the manners of the inhabitants, correſpond with what is every day ſeen on this coaſt of Africa; one would imagine it the journal of a modern ſailor.

He obſerved from his fleet, that in the day-time there was a prodigious ſilence on the continent, that in the night he heard the ſound of various muſical inſtruments, and that fires might then be every-where ſeen, ſome larger than others. Our relations are conformable to this; it has been diſcovered, that in the day the ſavages retire into the foreſts to avoid the heat of the ſun, that they light up great fires in the night to diſperſe the beaſts of prey, and that they are paſſionately fond of muſic and dancing.

The ſame writer deſcribes a volcano with all the phænomena of Veſuvius; and relates, that he took two hairy women, who choſe to die rather than follow the Carthaginians, and whoſe ſkins he carried to Carthage. This has been found not void of probability.

This

This narration is ſo much the more valuable, as it is a monument of Punic antiquity; and from hence alone it has been regarded as fabulous: For the Romans retained their hatred to the Carthaginians, even after they had deſtroyed them. But it was victory alone that decided whether we ought to ſay *the Punic*, or *the Roman faith*.

The moderns * have imbibed theſe prejudices. What is become, ſay they, of the cities deſcribed by Hanno, of which even in Pliny's time there remained no veſtiges? Wonderful would it have been indeed, had they continued. Was it a Corinth or Athens that Hanno built on theſe coaſts? He left Carthaginian families in ſuch places as were moſt commodious for trade, and ſecured them, as well as his hurry could permit, againſt ſavages and wild beaſts. The calamities of the Carthaginians put a period to the navigation of Africa; theſe families muſt neceſſarily then either periſh or become ſavages. Beſides, were the ruins of theſe cities even ſtill in being, who is it that would venture into the woods and marſhes to make the diſcovery? We find however, in Scylax and Polybius, that the Carthaginians had conſiderable ſettlements on theſe coaſts. Theſe are the veſtiges of the cities of Hanno; there are no other, for the ſame reaſon that there are no other of Carthage itſelf.

* Mr. Dodwell. See his *Diſſertation on the Periplus of* Hanno.

The

The Carthaginians were in the high road to wealth; and had they gone so far as four degrees of north latitude, and fifteen of longitude, they would have discovered the gold coast. They would then have had a trade of much greater importance than that which is carried on at present on that coast; at a time when America seems to have degraded the riches of all other countries. They would there have found treasures, of which they could never have been deprived by the Romans.

Very surprising things have been said of the riches of Spain. If we may believe Aristotle *, the Phœnicians, who arrived at Tartessus, found so much silver there, that their ships could not hold it all, and they made of this metal their meanest utensils. The Carthaginians, according to Diodorus †, found so much gold and silver in the Pyrenean mountains, that they adorned the anchors of their ships with it. But no foundation can be built on such popular reports. Let us therefore examine into the facts themselves.

We find in a fragment of Polybius cited by Strabo ‡, that the silver mines at the soures of the river Bætis, in which forty thousand men were employed, produced to the Romans twenty-five thousand drachmas a day, that is, about five millions of livres a year ||, at fifty

* Of wonderful things. † Lib. vi. ‡ Lib. iii.

[|| Or 304,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d. English*, at 8*d.* per drachma.]

livres

livres to the mark. The mountains that contained these mines were called the *; *Silver Mountains*: Which shews they were the Potosi of those times. At present the mines of Hanover do not employ a fourth part of the workmen, and yet they yield more. But as the Romans had not many copper-mines, and but few of silver; and as the Greeks knew none but the Attic mines, which were of little value, they might well be astonished at their abundance.

In the war that broke out for the succession of Spain, a man called the marquis of Rhodes, of whom it was said, that he was ruined in golden mines and inriched by hospitals †, proposed to the court of France to open the Pyrenean mines. He alleged the example of the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans. He was permitted to search, but sought in vain; he still alleged his examples, and found nothing.

The Carthaginians being masters of the gold and silver trade, were willing to be so of the lead and pewter. These metals were carried by land from the ports of Gaul upon the ocean to those of the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians were desirous of receiving them at first hand; they sent Himilco ‡ to make settle-

* *Mons Argentarius.*

† He had some share in their management.

‡ It appears from Pliny, that this Himilco was sent at the same time with Hanno; and as in the time of Agathocles there were a Hanno and an Himilco, both chiefs

ſettlements * in the iſles called Caſſiterides, which are imagined to be thoſe of Scilly.

Theſe voyages from Bætica into England have made ſome perſons imagine, that the Carthaginians knew the compaſs: But it is certain, they followed the coaſts. There needs no other proof than Himilco's being four months in ſailing from the mouth of the Bætis to England: Beſides, the famous piece of hiſtory of the Carthaginian † pilot, who, being followed by a Roman veſſel, ran a-ground, that he might not ſhew her the way to England ‡, plainly intimates that theſe veſſels were very near the ſhore, when they fell in with each other.

The ancients might have performed voyages, which would make one imagine they had the compaſs, though they had not. If a pilot was far from land, and during his voyage had ſuch ſerene weather, that in the night he could always ſee a polar ſtar, and in the day the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, it is certain he might regulate his courſe as well as we do now by the compaſs: But this muſt be a fortuitous caſe, and not a regular method of navigation.

We ſee in the treaty which put an end to the firſt Punic war, that Carthage was principally

of the Carthaginians, Mr. Dodwell conjectures theſe were the ſame; more eſpecially, as the republic was then in its flouriſhing ſtate. See his *Diſſertation on the Periplus of* Hanno.

* See Feſtus Avienus.

† Strabo, lib. iii. towards the end.

‡ He was rewarded by the ſenate of Carthage.

attentive

attentive to preſerve the empire of the ſea, and Rome that of the land. Hanno *, in his negociation with the Romans, declared that they would not ſuffer them even to waſh their hands in the ſea of Sicily; they were not permitted to ſail beyond the *Promontorium pulchrum*; they were forbid to trade in Sicily †, Sardinia and Africa, except at Carthage: An exception that lets us ſee there was no deſign to favour them in their trade with that city.

In early times there had been very great wars between Carthage and Marſeilles ‡ on the ſubject of fiſhing. After the peace they entered jointly into the œconomical commerce. Marſeilles at length grew jealous, eſpecially as being equal to her rival in induſtry, ſhe was become inferior to her in power. This is the motive of her great fidelity to the Romans. The war between the latter and the Carthaginians in Spain, was a ſource of riches to Marſeilles, which was now become their magazine. The ruin of Carthage and Corinth ſtill increaſed the glory of Marſeilles, and had it not been for the civil wars, in which this republic ought on no account to have engaged, ſhe would have been happy under the protection of the Romans, who had not the leaſt jealouſy of her commerce.

* Freinſhemius's Supplement to Livy, 2d Decad. lib. vi.

† In the parts ſubject to the Carthaginians.

‡ *Carthaginienſium quoque exercitus, cum bellum captis piſcatorum navibus ortum eſſet, ſæpe fuderunt, pacemque victis dederunt.* Juſtin. lib. xliii. cap. 5.

The Romans were never diſtinguiſhed by a jealouſy for trade. They attacked Carthage as a rival, not a trading nation. They favoured trading cities that were not ſubject to them. Thus they increaſed the power of Marſeilles by the ceſſion of a large territory. They feared every thing from barbarians; but had not the leaſt apprehenſion from a trading people. Their genius, their glory, their military education, and the very form of their government, eſtranged them from commerce.

In the city they were employed only about war, elections, factions, and law-ſuits; in the country, about agriculture; and as for the provinces, a ſevere and tyrannical government, which there prevailed, was incompatible with commerce.

But their political conſtitution was not more oppoſite to trade, than their law of nations. "*The people*, ſays * Pomponius the civilian, "*with whom we have neither friendſhip, nor* "*hoſpitality, nor alliance, are not our enemies*; "*however, if any thing belonging to us falls* "*into their hands, they are the proprietors of* "*it: Freemen become their ſlaves, and they are* "*upon the ſame terms with reſpect to us.*"

Their civil law was not leſs oppreſſive. The law of Conſtantine, after having ſtigmatiſed as baſtards the children of perſons of a mean rank, that had been married to thoſe of a ſuperior

* Leg. v. ff. de Captivis.

ſtation,

ſtation, confounds women who keep a * ſhop for vending merchandiſes, with ſlaves, with women who keep taverns, with players, with the daughters of thoſe who keep public ſtews, or who had been condemned to fight in the amphitheatre: This had its original in the ancient inſtitutions of the Romans.

I am not ignorant that men prepoſſeſſed with theſe two ideas, that commerce is of the greateſt ſervice to a ſtate, and that the Romans had the beſt policied government in the world, have believed that they greatly honoured and encouraged commerce; but the truth is, they ſeldom troubled their heads about it.

CHAP. VI.

The Conduct which the Romans obſerved, in order to ſubdue all Nations.

DURING the courſe of ſo mighty a proſperity, in which it is uſual for mankind to forget themſelves, the ſenate continued to act with the ſame depth of judgment; and whilſt their armies were ſpreading an univerſal terror, they would not ſuffer thoſe to riſe who were once depreſſed.

A tribunal aroſe which judged all nations: At the cloſe of every war they determined the

* *Quæ mercimoniis publicè præfuit.* Leg. 5. cod. natural. liberis.

rewards or puniſhments which every one had merited: They took away from the vanquiſhed people, part of their lands, and gave them to their allies, in which they did two things; they engaged, in the intereſts of Rome, princes from whom they had little to fear, and much to hope; and they weakned others from whom they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear.

In warring with an enemy they made uſe of their allies, but immediately extirpated the deſtroyers. Philip was overcome by the aſſiſtance of the Ætolians, who were deſtroyed preſently after, for having joined themſelves to Antiochus. This king was overcome by the aſſiſtance of the Rhodians; but after the moſt conſpicuous rewards had been beſtowed upon them, they were depreſſed for ever, upon pretence that they had demanded to have a peace concluded with Perſeus.

When the Romans were oppoſed by ſeveral enemies at the ſame time, they granted a truce to the weakeſt, who thought themſelves happy in obtaining it; conſidering it as a great advantage, that their ruin had been ſuſpended.

When they were engaged in a mighty war, the ſenate winked at wrongs of every kind, and ſilently waited the ſeaſon proper for chaſtiſement: If at any time a people ſent them the offenders, they refuſed to puniſh them, chuſing rather to conſider the whole nation as guilty, and reſerve to themſelves a uſeful vengeance.

As

As they made their enemies ſuffer inexpreſſible evils, very few leagues were formed againſt them; for he who was at the greateſt diſtance from the danger, did not care to come near it.

For this reaſon war was ſeldom denounced againſt them, but themſelves always made it at a ſeaſon, in the manner, and with a people, as beſt ſuited their intereſt; and, among the great number of nations they invaded, there were very few but would have ſubmitted to injuries of every kind, provided they could but be ſuffered to live in peace.

As it was uſual for them to deliver themſelves always in a magiſterial way, ſuch ambaſſadors as they ſent to nations who had not yet felt the weight of their power, were ſure to meet with ill treatment, which furniſhed them with a ſure * pretence to engage in a new war.

As they never concluded a peace with ſincerity and integrity, and intended a general invaſion, their treaties were properly only ſo many ſuſpenſions from war; they inſerted ſuch conditions in them, as always paved the way to the ruin of thoſe ſtates which accepted them: They uſed to ſend the garriſons out of the ſtrong holds; they regulated the number of the land forces, or had the horſes and

* See an example of this, in their war with the Dalmatians. See Polybius.

elephants delivered up to them; and, in caſe this people were powerful at ſea, they obliged them to burn their ſhips, and ſometimes to remove higher up in the country.

After having deſtroyed the armies of a prince, they drained his treaſury, by impoſing a heavy tribute, or taxing him immoderately, under colour of making him defray the expence of the war: A new ſpecies of tyranny, which obliged him to oppreſs his ſubjects, and thereby loſe their affection.

Whenever they granted a peace to ſome prince, they uſed to take one of his brothers or children by way of hoſtage, which gave them an opportunity of raiſing, at pleaſure, commotions in his kingdom: When they had the next heir among them, it was their cuſtom to intimidate the poſſeſſor: Had they only a prince of a remote degree, they made uſe of him to foment the inſurrections of the populace.

Whenever any prince or people withdrew their allegiance from their ſovereign, they immediately indulged them the title of * ally to the Romans; by which means they became ſacred and inviolable; ſo that there was no monarch, how formidable ſoever, who could rely one moment upon his ſubjects, or even upon his own family.

* See particularly their treaty with the Jews in the 1ſt book of the Maccabees, ch. viii.

Although

Although the title of their ally was a kind of ſervitude *, yet was it very much ſought after; for theſe who enjoyed it were ſure to receive no injuries but from them, and had reaſon to flatter themſelves ſuch would be leſs grievous. Hence nations and kings were ready to undertake any kind of ſervices, and ſubmitted to the meaneſt and moſt abject acts, merely for the ſake of obtaining it.

They had various kinds of allies; ſome were united to them by privileges and a participation in their grandeur, as the Latins and the Hernici; others by their very ſettlements, as their colonies; ſome by good offices, as Maſiniſſa, Eumenes, and Attalus, who where obliged to them for their kingdoms or their exaltation; others by free and unconſtrained treaties, and theſe, by the long continuation of the alliance, became ſubjects, as the kings of Egypt, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and moſt of the Grecian cities; in fine, many by forced and involuntary treaties, and by the law of their ſubjection, as Philip and Antiochus; for every peace the Romans granted an enemy, included alſo an alliance with him; or, in other words, they made every nation ſubdued by them contribute to the depreſſion of others.

When they permitted any cities the enjoyment of their liberties, they immediately raiſed

* Ariarathes offered a ſacrifice to the gods, ſays Polybius, by way of thanks for having obtained their alliance.

two * factions in them, one of which defended the laws and liberties of the country, whilſt the other aſſerted, that the will of the Romans was the only law; and as the latter faction was always the moſt powerful, it is plain ſuch a liberty could be but a mere name.

They ſometimes poſſeſſed themſelves of a country upon pretence of being heirs to it: They entered Aſia, Bithynia, and Libya by the laſt wills of Attalus, of Nicomedes †, and of Appion; and Egypt was enſlaved by that of the king of Cyrene.

To keep great princes for ever in a weak condition, they would not ſuffer them to conclude an alliance with thoſe nations to whom they had granted theirs ‡; and as they did not refuſe it to any people who bordered upon a powerful prince, this condition inſerted in a treaty of peace, deprived him of all his allies.

Beſides, when they had overcome any conſiderable prince, one of the articles of the treaty was, that he ſhould not make war, upon account of any feuds of his own, with the allies of the Romans (that is to ſay, generally with all his neighbours;) but ſhould ſubmit them to arbitration; which deprived him of a military power for time to come.

* See Polybius on the cities of Greece.

† The ſon of Philopator.

‡ This was Antiochus's caſe.

And

And in order to keep the ſole poſſeſſion of it in their own hands, they bereaved their very allies of this force; the inſtant theſe had the leaſt conteſt, they ſent ambaſſadors, who obliged them to conclude a peace: We need but conſider the manner in which they terminated the wars of Attalus and Pruſias.

When any prince had gained ſuch a conqueſt as often had exhauſted him, immediately a Roman ambaſſador came and wreſted it out of his hands: Among a multitude of examples, we may remember how they, with a ſingle word, drove Antiochus out of Egypt.

Fully ſenſible how well the European nations were turned for war, they eſtabliſhed as a law, that no * Aſiatic monarch ſhould be ſuffered to come into Europe, and there invade any people whatſoever. The chief motive of their declaring war againſt Mithridates † was, for his having ſubdued ſome barbarians contrary to this prohibition.

When they ſaw two nations engaged in war, although they were not in alliance, nor had any conteſt with either of them, they nevertheleſs appeared upon the ſtage of action, and, like our knight-errants, always ſided with the

* The order ſent to Antiochus, even before the war, for him not to croſs into Europe, was made general with regard to all other kings.

† Appian, *de Bello Mithridat.*

weakeſt:

weakeſt: It was an * ancient cuſtom, ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, for the Romans to grant ſuccour to all who came to implore it.

Theſe cuſtoms of the Romans were not certain particular incidents, which happened by chance, but were ſo many invariable principles; and this is eaſy to perceive, for the maxims they put in practice againſt the greateſt monarchs were exactly the ſame with thoſe they had employed, in their infant ſtate, againſt the little cities which ſtood round them.

They made Eumenes and Maſiniſſa contribute to the ſubjection of Philip and Antiochus, as they had before employed the Latins and the Hernici to ſubdue the Volſcians and the Tuſcans: They obliged the Carthaginians and the kings of Aſia to ſurrender their fleets to them, in like manner as they had forced the citizens of Antium to give up their little veſſels.

When any ſtate compoſed too formidable a body from its ſituation or union, they never failed to divide it. The republic of Achaia was formed by an aſſociation of free cities; the ſenate declared, that every city ſhould from that time be governed by its own laws, independent on the general authority.

* A fragment of Dionyſius, copied from the extract of embaſſies, made by Conſtantine Porphyrogenneta.

The

The commonwealth of Bœotia roſe likewiſe from a league made between ſeveral cities: but, as in the war of Perſeus, one city declared for that prince, and others for the Romans, the latter received them into favour, when the common alliance was diſſolved.

Macedonia was ſurrounded by inacceſſible mountains: The ſenate divided it into four parts; declared thoſe free; prohibited them every kind of alliance among themſelves by marriage; carried off all the nobles into Italy, and by that means reduced this power to nothing.

Had a great monarch, who reigned in our time, followed theſe maxims, when he ſaw a neighbouring prince dethroned, he would have employed a ſtronger force in his ſupport, and have confined him to the iſland which continued faithful to him. By dividing the only power that could have oppoſed his deſigns, he would have drawn infinite advantages even from the misfortunes of his ally.

Whenever there happened any feud in a ſtate, they immediately made themſelves judges of it; and thereby were ſure of having that party only, whom they condemned, for their enemy. If princes of the ſame blood were at variance for the crown, they ſometimes declared them both kings, and by this means cruſhed the power of both: If one of them

was

was a * minor, they declared in his favour, and made themſelves his guardians in quality of protectors of the world; for they had carried matters to ſo high a pitch, that nations and kings were their ſubjects, without knowing directly upon what right or title; it being a maxim, that the bare hearing of their names, was ſufficient for a people to acknowlege them their ſovereigns.

The Romans never engaged in far-diſtant wars, till they had firſt made an alliance with ſome power contiguous to the enemy they invaded, who might unite his troops to the army they ſent; and as this was never conſiderable with regard to numbers, they always had † another in that province which lay neareſt the enemy, and a third in Rome, ever ready to march at a moment's warning. In this manner they never hazarded but a ſmall part of their forces, whilſt their enemy ventured all his.

They ſometimes inſidiouſly perverted the ſubtility of the terms of their language: They deſtroyed Carthage, upon pretence that they had promiſed to preſerve the *Civitas* not the

* To enable themſelves to ruin Syria, in quality of guardians, they declared in favour of the ſon of Antiochus, who was but a child, in oppoſition to Demetrius, who was their hoſtage, and conjured them to do him juſtice, crying, That Rome was his mother, and the ſenators his fathers.

† This was their conſtant practice, as appears from hiſtory.

Urbs

Urbs *. It is well known in what manner the Ætolians, who had abandoned themſelves to their faith, were impoſed upon; the Romans pretended, that the ſignification of theſe words, *abandon one's ſelf to the faith of an enemy*, implied, the loſs of all things, of perſons, lands, cities, temples, and even of burial places.

The Romans would even go ſo far, as to give arbitrary explanations to treaties: Thus, when they were reſolved to depreſs the Rhodians, they declared, that they had formerly given them Lycia, not by way of preſent, but as a friend and ally.

When one of their generals concluded a peace, merely to preſerve his army, which was juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, the ſenate, who did not ratify it, took advantage of this peace and continued the war. Thus when JUGURTHA had ſurrounded an army of Romans, and permitted them to march away unmoleſted, upon the faith of a treaty, theſe very troops he had ſaved were employed againſt him: And when the Numantians had reduced twenty thouſand Romans, juſt periſhing with hunger, to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace; this peace, which had ſaved the lives of ſo many thouſand citizens, was broke at Rome, and the public faith was eluded by † ſending back the conſul who had ſigned it.

They

[* That is, to ſave the corporation, but not the city.]

† After Claudius Glycias had granted the Corſicans a peace, the ſenate gave orders for renewing the war againſt them.

They ſometimes would conclude a peace with a monarch upon reaſonable conditions, and the inſtant he had ſigned them, they added others of ſo injurious a nature, that he was forced to renew the war. Thus, when they had forced Jugurtha to * deliver up his elephants, his horſes, his treaſures, and his deſerters, they required him to ſurrender up his perſon, which being the greateſt calamity that can befal a prince, cannot for that reaſon be ever made an article of peace.

In fine, they ſet up a tribunal over kings, whom they judged for their particular vices and crimes: They heard the complaints of all perſons who had any diſpute with PHILIP: They ſent deputies with them by way of ſafeguard, and obliged Perſeus to appear before theſe, to anſwer for certain murthers and certain quarrels he had with ſome inhabitants of the confederate cities.

As men judged of the glory of a general by the quantity of the gold and ſilver carried in his triumph, the Romans ſtripped the vanquiſhed enemy of all things. Rome was for ever enriching itſelf; and every war they en-

them, and delivered up Glycias to the inhabitants of the iſland, who would not receive him. Every one knows what happened at the Furcæ Caudinæ.

* They acted the ſame part with regard to Viriatus: After having obliged him to give up the deſerters, he was ordered to ſurrender up his arms, to which neither himſelf nor his army could conſent. Fragment of Dion.

gaged

gaged in, enabled them to undertake a new one.

All the nations who were either friends or confederates, quite * ruined themſelves by the immenſely rich preſents they made, in order to procure the continuance of the favours already beſtowed upon them, or to obtain greater; and half the monies which uſed to be ſent upon theſe occaſions to the Romans, would have ſufficed to conquer them.

Being maſters of the univerſe, they arrogated to themſelves all the treaſures of it; and were leſs unjuſt robbers, conſidered as conquerors, than conſidered as legiſlators. Hearing that PTOLEMY king of Cyprus was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, they † enacted a law, propoſed by a tribune, by which they gave to themſelves the inheritance of a man ſtill living, and confiſcated to their own uſe the eſtates of a confederate prince.

In a little time, the greedineſs of particular perſons quite devoured whatever had eſcaped the public avarice; magiſtrates and governors uſed to ſell their injuſtice to kings: Two competitors would ruin one another, for the ſake of purchaſing an ever-dubious protection againſt a

* The preſents which the ſenate uſed to ſend kings were mere trifles, as an ivory chair and ſtaff, or a robe like that worn by their own magiſtrates.

† *Divitiarum tanta fama erat*, ſays *Florus*, *ut victor gentium populus, ſi donare regna conſuetus, ſocii virique regis confiſcationem mandaverit.* lib. iii. c. 9.

rival who was not quite undone; for the Romans had not even the juſtice of robbers, who preſerve a certain probity in the exerciſe of guilt. In fine, as rights, whether lawful or uſurped, were maintained by money only; princes, to obtain it, deſpoiled temples, and confiſcated the poſſeſſions of the wealthieſt citizens; a thouſand crimes were committed, purely for the ſake of giving to the Romans all the money in the univerſe.

But nothing was of greater advantage to this people than the awe with which they ſtruck the whole earth: In an inſtant, kings were put to ſilence, and ſeemed as though they were ſtupid; no regard was had to their eminence, but their very perſons were attacked; to hazard a war, was to expoſe themſelves to captivity, to death, to the infamy of a triumph. Thus kings, who lived in the midſt of pomps and pleaſures, did not dare to fix their eyes ſtedfaſtly on the Roman people; and their courage failing them, they hoped to ſuſpend a little the miſeries with which they were threatened, by their patience and ſubmiſſive actions.

Obſerve, I intreat you, the conduct of the Romans. After the defeat of ANTIOCHUS they were poſſeſſed of Africa, Aſia, and Greece, without having ſcarce a ſingle city in theſe countries that were immediately their own. They ſeemed to conquer with no other view but to beſtow; but then they obtained ſo complete a ſovereignty, that whenever they engaged in

in war with any prince, they oppreſſed him, as it were, with the weight of the whole univerſe.

The time proper for ſeizing upon the conquered countries was not yet come: Had the Romans kept the cities they took from Philip, the Greeks would have ſeen at once into their deſigns: Had they, after the ſecond Punic war, or that with Antiochus, poſſeſſed themſelves of lands in * Africa and in Aſia, they could never have preſerved conqueſts ſo ſlightly eſtabliſhed.

It was the intereſt of the Romans to wait till all nations were accuſtomed to obey, as free and as confederate, before they ſhould attempt to command over them as ſubjects; and to let them blend and loſe themſelves, as it were, by little and little, in the Roman commonwealth.

See the treaty which they made with the Latins after the victory at the Lake of Regilus †. This was one of the principal foundations of their power, yet not a ſingle word occurs in it, which can give the leaſt ſuſpicion that they aimed at empire.

This was a ſlow way of conquering: After overcoming a nation, they contented themſelves

* They did not dare to venture their colonies in thoſe countries; but choſe rather to raiſe an eternal jealouſy between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa, and to make both theſe powers aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of Macedonia and Greece.

† See Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. vi. cap. 95. Edit. Oxon.

with weakening it; they impoſed ſuch conditions as conſumed it inſenſibly: If it recovered, they depreſſed it ſtill more, and it became ſubject, without a poſſibility of dating the firſt æra of its ſubjection.

Thus Rome was not properly either a monarchy or a commonwealth, but the head of a body compoſed of all the nations in the univerſe.

Had the Spaniards, after the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru, followed this plan, they would not have been obliged to deſtroy all, for the ſake of preſerving all.

It is a folly in conquerors to forte their own laws and cuſtoms on all nations; ſuch a conduct is of very ill conſequence, for men are capable of obeying under all kinds of government.

But as Rome not did impoſe any general laws, the nations did not form any dangerous aſſociations; they formed one body no otherwiſe than by a common obedience; and were all Romans without being countrymen.

It perhaps will be objected, that no empires founded on the laws of fiefs were ever durable or powerful. But nothing could be ſo contradictory as the plan of the Romans and that of the Goths: And juſt to mention theſe plans, the former was a work of ſtrength, the latter of weakneſs: In the one, ſubjection was extreme; in the other, independence: In the Gothic ſtates, power was lodged in the vaſſals, and the right of judging only in the prince; whereas

whereas it was the reverſe in the Roman government.

CHAP. VII.

How it was poſſible for Mithridates to reſiſt the Romans.

AMONG the ſeveral kings whom the Romans invaded, MITHRIDATES was the only one who made a courageous defence, and expoſed them to danger.

His dominions were ſituated to wonderful advantage for carrying on a war with them: They bordered on the inacceſſible countries of mount Caucaſus, peopled with ſavage nations, whom that prince could call to his aſſiſtance; they thence extended along the ſea of Pontus, which Mithridates covered with his ſhips, and he was inceſſantly purchaſing new armies of Scythians: Aſia was open to his invaſions; and he was rich, becauſe his cities, ſituated on the Pontus Euxinus, carried on an advantageous traffic with nations leſs induſtrious than themſelves.

Proſcriptions, the cuſtom of which began at this time, had forced ſeveral Romans to leave their country. Theſe were received by Mithridates with open arms, and he formed legions *,

* Frontin. Stratagem. lib. ii. tells us, that Archelaus, lieutenant of Mithridates, engaging againſt Sylla, poſted, in

into which he incorporated thoſe exiles, who proved the beſt ſoldiers in his army.

On the other ſide, the Romans, diſordered by inteſtine diviſions, and threatned with more imminent dangers, neglected the affairs of Aſia, and ſuffered Mithridates to purſue his victories, or take breath after his defeats.

Nothing had contributed more to the ruin of moſt kings, than the manifeſt deſire they ſhewed for peace: By this, they had prevented all other nations from dividing with them a danger, from which they were ſo anxious to extricate themſelves: But Mithridates immediately made the whole world ſenſible, that he was an enemy to the Romans, and would be ſo eternally.

In fine the cities of Greece and Aſia, finding the Roman yoke grow more intolerable every day, repoſed their whole confidence in this barbarous king, who invited them to liberty.

This diſpoſition of things gave riſe to three mighty wars, which form one of the nobleſt parts of the Roman hiſtory, and for this reaſon: We do not, on this occaſion, read of princes already overcome by luxury and pride, as Antiochus and Tigranes; nor by fear, as Philip, Perſeus, and Jugurtha; but a magnanimous

in the firſt rank, his chariots armed with ſcythes, in the ſecond his phalanx, in the third his auxiliaries armed after the Roman way; *mixtis fugitivis Italiæ, quorum pervicaciæ multum ſidebat.* Mithridates even made an alliance with Sertorius. See alſo Plutarch, life of Lucullus.

king,

king, who, in adverſity, like a lion that gazes upon his wounds, was fired with the greater indignation upon that account.

This part of the Roman hiſtory is ſingular, becauſe it abounds with perpetual and ever-unexpected revolutions: For as on one ſide, Mithridates could eaſily recruit his armies, ſo it appeared, that in thoſe reverſes of fortune, in which kings ſtand in greateſt need of obedience and a ſtrict diſcipline, his barbarian forces forſook him: As he had the art of enticing nations, and ſtirring up cities to rebellion, ſo was he likewiſe betrayed by this captains, his children and his wives; in fine, as he was ſometimes oppoſed by unexperienced Roman generals, ſo there was ſent againſt him, at other times, SYLLA, LUCULLUS, and POMPEY.

This prince, after having defeated the Roman generals, and conquered Aſia, Macedonia, and Greece; having been vanquiſhed, in his turn, by Sylla; confined by a treaty to his former limits, and harraſſed by the Roman generals; having been once more ſuperior to them, and conqueror of Aſia; driven away by Lucullus; purſued into his own country; obliged to fly for ſhelter to Tigranes, and defeated with him: Finding this monarch irrecoverably loſt, and depending merely upon himſelf for ſuccour, he took ſanctuary in his own dominions, and re-aſcended the throne.

Lucullus was ſucceeded by Pompey, who quite overpowered Mithridates. He then flies

out of his dominions, and croſſing the Araxes, marches from danger to danger through the country of the Lazi; and aſſembling in his way all the barbarians he met with, appeared in the Boſphorus againſt his ſon * MACCHARES, who had reconciled himſelf to the Romans.

Although plunged in ſo deep an abyſs, he yet † formed a deſign of making Italy the ſeat of the war, and of marching to Rome at the head of thoſe nations who enſlaved it ſome years after, and by the ſame way theſe now took.

Betrayed by Pharnaces, another of his ſons, and by an army terrified at the greatneſs of his enterprizes and the perils he was going in ſearch of, he died in a manner worthy a king.

It was then that Pompey, in the rapidity of his victories, completed the pompous work of the Roman grandeur: He united to the body of its empire, countries of a boundleſs extent, which, however, heightned the Roman magnificence rather than increaſed its power; and though it appeared by the titles carried in his triumph, that he had increaſed the revenue of the public treaſury ‡ above a third, there

* Mithridates had made him king of the Boſphorus. News being brought of his father's arrival, he diſpatched himſelf.

† See Appian, *de Bello Mithridatico*.

‡ See Plutarch in the life of Pompey; and Zonaras, lib. ii.

yet

yet was no augmentation in power, and the public liberty was thereby only expoſed to the greater danger.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Diviſions which always ſubſiſted in the City.

WHILST Rome was conquering the world, a hidden war was carrying on within its walls: Theſe fires were like thoſe of volcanos, which break out the inſtant they are fed by ſome combuſtle ſubſtance.

After the expulſion of the kings, the government became ariſtocratical: The patrician families only, obtained all the employments and dignities in the * ſtate, and conſequently all † honours civil and military.

The patricians being determined to prevent, if poſſible, the return of the kings, endeavoured to foment the reſtleſs principle which now prevailed in the minds of the people; but they did more than they would willingly have done: By attempting to inſpire them with a hatred for kings, they fired them with an inordinate

* The patricians were inveſted, in ſome meaſure, with a ſacred character, and they only were allowed to take the auſpices. See in Livy, book vi. the ſpeech of Appius Claudius.

† As for inſtance, they alone were permitted to triumph, ſince they alone could be conſuls and generals.

thirſt

thirſt for liberty. As the royal authority had devolved entirely upon the conſuls, the people found they were far from poſſeſſing that liberty they were taught to idolize: They therefore ſought for methods by which they might depreſs the conſulate; procure plebeian magiſtrates; and ſhare the curule, or greater employments, with the nobles. The patricians were forced to comply with all the demands of the people; for in a city where poverty was the public virtue, where wealth, that clandeſtine path to power, was deſpiſed, neither birth nor dignities could beſtow any great advantages: It was therefore neceſſary for power to fall into the hands of the greater number, and for ariſtocracy to change by inſenſible degrees into a popular ſtate.

Thoſe who are ſubordinate to a king, are leſs tortured with envy and jealouſy, than ſuch as live under an hereditary ariſtocracy: The prince is at ſo great a diſtance from his ſubjects, that he is ſcarce ſeen by them; and is raiſed ſo far above them, that they cannot conceive any relation capable of giving them diſguſt. But when the nobles preſide in a ſtate, they are expoſed to the eyes of all men, and are not ſeated ſo high as to prevent odious compariſons from being made perpetually; and, indeed, the people have deteſted ſenators, in this and in all ages. Such commonwealths in which birth does not beſtow any ſhare in the legiſlature, are the happieſt in this reſpect; for it is natural that the

the people ſhould not bear ſo much envy to an authority, which they beſtow on whom they think proper, and reſume at will.

The people being diſguſted at the patricians, withdrew to the ſacred hill (Mons ſacer) whither deputies being ſent, they were appeaſed: And as they all made a promiſe to aſſiſt one another, in caſe the patricians ſhould not perform their * engagement, which would have created ſeditions every moment, and diſturbed all the magiſtrates in the exerciſe of their functions; it was judged better to create an officer †, who might protect the people againſt any injuſtice that ſhould be done them: But by a malady for ever incident to man, the plebeians, who had obtained tribunes merely for their own defence, employed thoſe very magiſtrates to annoy others; ſo that they ſtript, by inſenſible degrees, the patricians of all their privileges. This gave riſe to everlaſting conteſts: The people were ſupported, or rather animated, by their tribunes; and the patricians were defended by the ſenate, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of patricians, who were more inclined to favour the ancient maxims, and afraid that the populace would raiſe ſome tribune to arbitrary power.

The people employed, in the defence of this magiſtrate, their own ſtrength, and the

* Zonaras, lib. ii.

† Origin of the tribunes of the people.

ſuperiority

ſuperiority they had in the ſuffrages, their refuſal to march into the field, their threats to go quite away, the partiality of the laws, in fine, their judiciary ſentences againſt thoſe who had oppoſed them too vigorouſly: The ſenate defended themſelves by their wiſdom, their juſtice, and the love they inſpired into all for their country; by their beneficence, and the prudent diſtribution of the commonwealth; by the veneration which the people had for the glory of the principal * families, and the virtue of illuſtrious perſonages; by religion itſelf, the ancient inſtitutions, and the prohibition of days of public meeting, upon pretence that the auſpices had not been favourable; by their clients; by the oppoſition of one tribune to another; by the creation of a † dictator, the occupations of a new war, or

* The people had ſo great a veneration for the chief families, that although they had obtained the privilege of creating plebeian military tribunes, who were inveſted with the ſame power as the conſuls, they nevertheleſs always made choice of patricians for this employment. They were obliged to put a conſtraint upon themſelves, and to enact, that one conſul always ſhould be a plebeian; and when ſome plebeian families were raiſed to offices, the way was afterwards open to them without intermiſſion. It was with difficulty that the people, notwithſtanding the perpetual deſire they had to depreſs the nobility, depreſſed them in reality; and when they raiſed to honours ſome perſon of mean extraction, as Varro and Marius, it coſt them very great ſtruggles.

† The patricians, to defend themſelves, uſed to create a dictator, which proved of the greateſt advantage to

or the misfortunes and calamities which united all parties; in a word, by a paternal condeſcenſion, in granting the people part of their demands, purpoſely to make them relinquiſh the reſt; and by that ſtedfaſt maxim, of preferring the ſafety of the republic to the prerogatives of any order or public employment whatſoever.

In proceſs of time, when the plebeians had depreſſed the patricians to ſuch a degree, that this * diſtinction of families was empty and fruitleſs, and that both were indiſcriminately raiſed to honours, new conteſts aroſe between the populace, whom their tribunes ſpirited up, and the chief families, whether patricians or ſuch plebeians as were ſtyled noble, and were favoured by the ſenate that was compoſed of them: But, as the ancient manners ſubſiſted no more; as particular perſons were poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and that it is impoſſible but wealth muſt give power; theſe nobles made a ſtronger reſiſtance than the patricians had done, which occaſioned the

to them; but the plebeians having obtained the privilege of being elected conſuls, could alſo be elected dictators, which quite diſconcerted the patricians. See in Livy, lib. viii. in what manner Publius Philo depreſſed them in his dictatorſhip. He enacted three laws, by which they received the higheſt prejudice.

* The patricians reſerved to themſelves only a few offices belonging to the prieſthood, and the privilege of creating a magiſtrate called interrex.

death

death of the Gracchi, and of * ſeveral perſons who followed their plan †.

I muſt take notice of an office which contributed greatly to the happy polity of Rome; it was that of the cenſors. Theſe numbered or ſurveyed the ‡ people; farther, as the ſtrength of the commonwealth conſiſted in the ſtrictneſs of diſcipline, in the ſeverity of manners, and the uninterrupted obſervation of certain cuſtoms; they corrected ſuch errors and abuſes as the legiſlative power had not foreſeen, or the ordinary magiſtrate ‖ could not puniſh.

Some

* As Saturninus and Glaucias.

[† When the people of Rome had obtained the privilege of ſharing the patrician magiſtracies, it was natural to think that the flatterers of them would immediately become arbiters of the government. But no ſuch thing.——It is obſervable, that the very people who had rendered the plebeians capable of public offices, fixed, notwithſtanding, their choice conſtantly on the patricians. Becauſe they were virtuous, they were magnanimous: and becauſe they were free, they had a contempt of power. But when their morals were corrupted, the more power they were poſſeſſed of, the leſs prudent was their conduct; till at length upon becoming their own tyrants and ſlaves, they loſt the ſtrength of liberty to fall into the weakneſs and impotency of licentiouſneſs. L'Eſprit des Loix, lib. viii. c. 12.]

‡ The cenſus or ſurvey of the citizens was a very prudent inſtitution in itſelf: It was a ſurvey of the ſtate of their affairs, and an enquiry into their power. It was founded by Servius Tullius; before whom, according to Eutropius, book i. the cenſus was unknown.

‖ The reader may ſee in what manner thoſe were degraded who, after the battle of Cannæ, were for leaving Italy; thoſe who had ſurrendered to Hannibal; thoſe who

Some bad examples are worſe than crimes, and a violation of manners has deſtroyed more ſtates, than the infraction of laws: In Rome, whatever might tend to introduce dangerous novelties, to create a change in the minds or affections of the citizens, and prevent, if I may uſe the expreſſion, the perpetuity of it; all diſorders and tumults, whether public or private, were reformed by the cenſors; theſe had authority to expel whomſoever they pleaſed; the ſenate could take from a knight the horſe maintained for him at the public expence; or degrade a citizen to the rank of ſuch as contributed to the maintenance of the magiſtrates of the city, without enjoying the privileges of it; in a word, the cenſors took a view of the actual ſituation of the republic, and diſtributed the people * among their various tribes

who by an inſidious and falſe interpretation, had forfeited their word.

* The plebeians obtained, in oppoſition to the patricians, that the laws and elections of magiſtrates ſhould be made by the people aſſembled by tribes and not by centuries. There were thirty-five tribes, each of whom gave its vote; Four belonging to the city, and thirty-one to the country. As there were but two profeſſions among the Romans that were honourable, war and huſbandry, the country tribes were had in greateſt conſideration; and the four remaining ones admitted into their body that contemptible part of the citizens, who having no lands to cultivate, were, if we may ſo ſay, but citizens by halves; the greateſt part of them did not even go to war, for in the enliſting of ſoldiers the diviſions of centuries was obſerved; and thoſe who were members of the four city tribes, were very near the

tribes in ſuch a manner, as to prevent the tribunes and perſons of an aſpiring temper from engroſſing the ſuffrages, or the people from abuſing their power.

M. LIVIUS * degraded the people themſelves, and reduced thirty-four tribes out of the thirty-five, to the rank of thoſe who had no ſhare in the privileges of the city: for, ſaid this Roman, you firſt condemned me, and afterwards raiſed me to the conſulate and the cenſorſhip; you therefore muſt either have prevaricated once in puniſhing me, or twice in creating me conſul and afterwards cenſor.

M. DURONIUS †, tribune of the people, was expelled the ſenate by the cenſors, for having

the ſame with thoſe who in the diviſion by centuries were of the ſixth claſs, in which no perſon was enrolled. Thus, it was ſcarce poſſible for the ſuffrages to be in the hands of the populace, who were confined to their four tribes; but as every one committed a thouſand frauds, for the ſake of getting out of them, the cenſors had an opportunity of reforming this abuſe every five years; and they incorporated into any tribe they pleaſed, not only a citizen, but alſo bodies and whole orders. See the firſt remark of chapter xi. See alſo Livy, lib. i. Decad. I. in which the different diviſions of the people, made by Servius Tullius, are very well explained: It was the ſame body of the people, but divided in various reſpects. [——In ſuch a manner, that property rather than numbers determined elections. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, lib. ii. c. 2.]

* Livy, lib. xxix.

† Valer. Max. lib. ii.

annulled,

annulled, when in office, the law which limits the expences of feaſts.

The following inſtitution was a very wiſe one; no magiſtrate * could be turned out of his employment, becauſe that would have diſturbed the exerciſe of the public power; but they diveſted ſuch a man of his order and rank, and deprived, as it were, a citizen of his particular nobility.

Servius Tullius had made the famous diviſion by centuries, which Livy † and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus ‡ have ſo well explained. He had divided one hundred and ninety-three centuries into ſix claſſes, and in the laſt century, which of itſelf formed the ſixth claſs, he placed all the commonalty. This diſpoſition evidently excluded the commonalty from voting; not of right, but in fact. Afterwards it was determined, that, ſome particular caſes excepted, the diviſion of tribes ſhould be followed in voting. There were thirty-five of theſe tribes, each having their reſpective vote, four belonging to the city, and thirty-one to the country. The principal citizens, who were all farmers, naturally belonged to the country-tribes, and thoſe of the city admitted

* The dignity of ſenator was not a public office or employment.

† Tit. Liv. lib. i.

‡ Lib. iv. act 15. &c.

the commonalty *, though theſe had very little influence in affairs: this was conſidered as the ſafety of the republic. And when Fabius replaced in the four city-tribes, the commonalty, whom Appius Claudius had diſperſed through them all, he acquired by that action the title of Maximus †. The cenſors every five years ſurveyed the ſtate of the republic, and diſtributed the people in their ſeveral tribes in ſuch a manner, that the tribunes and ambitious might not engroſs the votes, nor the people abuſe their power.

The government of Rome was wonderful in this reſpect; ever ſince the foundation of that city, its conſtitution was ſuch, either from the genius of the people, the ſtrength of the ſenate, or the authority of certain magiſtrates, that every abuſe of power might always be reformed in it.

Carthage was deſtroyed, becauſe, when abuſes were to be retrenched, the citizens could not bear the hand even of their Hannibal. Athens fell, becauſe the errors of the people appeared ſo lovely in their own eyes, that they would not be cured of them: And among us, thoſe Italian republics which boaſt the perpetuity of their government, ought to boaſt of nothing but the perpetuity of their

* Called *turba forenſis*.
† Tit. Liv. lib. ix.

abuſes;

abuſes; nor indeed, do they enjoy greater liberty * than Rome did under the Decemviri.

The Britiſh government is one of the wiſeſt in Europe, becauſe there is a body which examines it perpetually, and is perpetually examining itſelf; and its errors are of ſuch a nature, as never to be laſting, and are frequently uſeful by rouzing the attention of the nation.

In a word, a free government, that is to ſay, one for ever in motion, cannot ſupport itſelf, unleſs its own laws are capable of correcting the diſorders of it.

It may be proper here to give a more minute detail of the ſteps by which the Roman conſtitution was perfected; how its ſtrength increaſed with its liberties; and how both were impaired together. To this purpoſe we ſhall add a few pages from this excellent writer's *Spirit of Laws*.

Of the diviſion of the three powers under the different government of Rome.

THE government of the kings of Rome, in ſome meaſure, reſembled that of the kings of the heroic times of Greece. It ſunk, like that, by its general corruption, though in

* Nor even greater power.

itſelf, and in its own particular nature, it was exceeding good.

To give my reader a clear notion of this government, I ſhall conſider diſtinctly that of the five firſt kings, that of Servius Tullius, and that of Tarquin.

The crown was elective, and under the five firſt kings the ſenate had the greateſt ſhare in the election.

Upon the king's deceaſe, the ſenate took into conſideration, whether they ſhould continue the eſtabliſhed form of government. If they thought proper to continue it, they named a magiſtrate *, taken from their own body, who choſe a king: it was the buſineſs of the ſenate to approve of the election, of the people to confirm it, and of the augurs to ratify it. If one of theſe three conditions was wanting, they were obliged to proceed to another election.

The conſtitution was a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy; and ſuch was the harmony of theſe powers, that in the firſt reigns there was no inſtance of jealouſy or diſpute. The king commanded the armies, and had the direction of the ſacrifices; he had the power of determining civil † and crimi-

* Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. ii. p. 120. & lib. iv. p. 242, 243.

† See Tanaquil's diſcourſe in Livy, lib. i. c. 41. and the regulation of Servius Tullius, in Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv. p. 229.

nal

nal * cauſes; he convened the ſenate, aſſembled the people, laid ſome affairs before the latter, and regulated the reſt with the ſenate †.

The authority of the ſenate was great. The kings often took ſome of the ſenators to paſs judgments jointly with himſelf; and they never laid any affair before the people, which had not been previouſly debated in the ſenate ‡.

The people had the right of chuſing magiſtrates ‖, of conſenting to new laws, and, with the king's permiſſion, of declaring war, and making peace: But they had not the power of judging. When Tullus Hoſtilius referred the trial of Horatius to the people, he had ſome particular reaſons, which may be ſeen in Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus ‖‖.

The conſtitution was altered under Servius Tullius §. The ſenate had no ſhare in his election; he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed

* See Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. ii. p. 118. and lib. iii. p. 171.

† It was by virtue of a ſenatus conſultum that Tullus Hoſtilius ordered Alba to be deſtroyed. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iii. p. 167. and 172.

‡ Ibid. lib. iv. p. 276.

‖ Ibid. lib. ii. And yet they could not have the nomination of all offices; ſince Valerius Publicola made that famous law which prohibited every citizen from exerciſing any, unleſs he had obtained it by the ſuffrage of the people.

‖‖ Lib. iii. p. 159.

§ Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv.

by the people; he reſigned the power of judging civil cauſes *, and reſerved to himſelf only the criminal; he laid all affairs directly before the people; he eaſed them of taxes, and laid the whole burthen of them upon the patricians. Hence in proportion as he weakened the regal dignity and the authority of the ſenate, he augmented the power of the people †.

Tarquin would not be choſen either by the ſenate, or by the people; he conſidered Servius Tullius as an uſurper, and took the crown as an hereditary right. He turned out moſt of the ſenators; thoſe who remained he no longer conſulted; nor did he even ſummon them to aſſiſt in judgments ‡. Thus his power increaſed: and the odium of that power received a new addition, by uſurping alſo the authority of the people, without whom, and even againſt whom he enacted ſeveral laws. He would have reunited the three powers in his own perſon; but the people recollected for a moment that they were legiſlators: and Tarquin was no more.

To proceed then: For we never know how to quit the hiſtory of the Romans, juſt as, to

* He diveſted himſelf of half the regal power, ſays Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv. p. 229.

† It was thought, if he had not been prevented by Tarquin, he would have eſtabliſhed a popular government. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv. p. 243.

‡ Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv.

this

this day, we neglect the modern palaces in their capital to go in ſearch of ruins; or as the eye, after reſting itſelf on the enamelled meadows, loves to viſit rocks and mountains.

The patrician families were at all times poſſeſſed of great prerogatives. Theſe diſtinctions, which were conſiderable under the kings, became much more important after their expulſion. Hence aroſe the jealouſy of the plebeians, who wanted to reduce them. The conteſts ſtruck upon the conſtitution without weakening the government: for there was no great difference whatever family the magiſtrates were of, provided the magiſtracy preſerved its authority.

An elective moarchy, like that of Rome, neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a powerful ariſtocratical body to ſupport it; without which it changes immediately into tyranny or into a popular ſtate. But a popular ſtate has no need of this diſtinction of families to maintain itſelf. This was the reaſon why the patricians, who were a neceſſary part of the conſtitution under the regal government, became a ſuperfluous branch under the conſuls: the people could depreſs them without hurting themſelves, and change the conſtitution without corrupting it.

After Servius Tullius had reduced the patricians, it was natural for Rome to fall from the regal hands into thoſe of the people. But the people, by reducing the patricians, had

no reaſon to be afraid of falling again under a regal power.

A ſtate may alter two different ways, either by the amendment, or by the corruption of the conſtitution. If it has preſerved its principles, and the conſtitution is changed, it is owing to its amendment; if upon changing the conſtitution, its principles are loſt, it is becauſe it has been corrupted.

Rome, after the expulſion of the kings, ſhould naturally have been a democracy. The people had already the legiſlative power in their hands; their unanimous ſuffrage had expelled the kings; and if they had not continued ſteady in that reſolution, the Tarquins might eaſily have been reſtored. To pretend that their deſign in expelling them was to render themſelves ſlaves to a few families, was unreaſonable. The ſituation, therefore, of things required that Rome ſhould be a democracy; and yet it was not. There was a neceſſity of tempering the power of the principal families, and of giving the laws a biaſs to democracy.

States often flouriſh more under the inſenſible tranſition from one conſtitution to another, than under the eſtabliſhment of either. Then it is that all the ſprings of government are ſtretched, that every citizen puts in his pretenſions, that they oppoſe and careſs one another, and that there is a noble emulation between

between thoſe who defend the declining, and thoſe who are ſtrenuous in promoting the new conſtitution.

There were four things which greatly oppreſſed the liberty of Rome. The patricians had engroſſed to themſelves all ſacred, political, civil, and military employments; an exorbitant power was annexed to the conſulate; the people were often inſulted; and, in fine, they had ſcarce any influence at all in the public ſuffrages. Theſe four abuſes were redreſſed by the people.

1. It was ſtipulated, that there ſhould be ſome magiſtracies open to the plebeians; who, by degrees, obtained that they ſhould be made capable of all, except that of *Interrex*.

2. The conſulate was diſſolved into ſeveral other magiſtracies *; prætors were created, on whom the power was conferred of determining private cauſes; quæſtors † were nominated for judging public crimes; ædiles were eſtabliſhed for the civil adminiſtration; treaſurers ‡ appointed, who had the management of the public money; and, in fine, by the creation of cenſors the conſuls were diveſted of that part of the legiſlative power, which regulates the morals of the citizens, and the

* Livy, lib. vi.

† *Quæſitores parricidii.* Pomponius, leg. 2. ff. de Orig. Juris.

‡ Plutarch, Life of Publicola.

momen-

momentary polity of the different bodies of the ſtate. The chief prerogatives left them were to preſide in the great aſſemblies * of the people, to convene the ſenate, and to command the armies.

3. By the ſacred laws, tribunes were eſtabliſhed, who had a power on all occaſions of checking the incroachments of the patricians, and prevented not only particular, but likewiſe general injuries.

In fine, the plebeians increaſed their influence in public deciſions. The people of Rome were divided in three different manners, by centuries, by curiæ, and by tribes; and whenever they gave their votes, they were aſſembled and formed one of thoſe three ways.

In the firſt, the patricians, the leading men, the rich, the ſenate, which was very near the ſame thing, had almoſt the whole authority; in the ſecond they had leſs; and leſs ſtill in the third.

The diviſion into centuries was a diviſion rather of eſtates and fortunes, than of perſons. The whole body of the people was divided into a hundred and ninety-three centuries †, which had each a ſingle vote. The patricians and leading men compoſed the firſt ninety-eight centuries; and the other ninety-five con-

* *Comitiis centuriatis.*

† See Livy, lib. i. 43. & Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv. & vii.

ſiſted

ſiſted of the remainder of the citizens. In this diviſion, therefore, the patricians were maſters of the ſuffrages.

In the diviſions into curiæ *, the patricians had not the ſame advantages: ſome however they had, for it was neceſſary to conſult the auſpices, which were under the power of the patricians; and no propoſal could be made to the people in thoſe aſſemblies, unleſs it had been previouſly laid before the ſenate, and confirmed by a ſenatus conſultum. But in the diviſion into tribes neither the auſpices, nor the decrees of the ſenate interfered; and the patricians were excluded.

Now the people endeavoured conſtantly to have thoſe meetings by curias which had been cuſtomary by centuries; and by tribes thoſe they uſed to have before by curias; by which means the direction of public affairs ſoon devolved from the patricians to the plebeians.

Thus when the plebeians obtained the power of judging the patricians, a power which commenced in the affair of Coriolanus †, the plebeians inſiſted upon judging them by aſſemblies in tribes ‡, and not in centuries: and when the new magiſtracies of tribunes ‖ and

* Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. ix. p. 598.

† Ibid. lib. vii. p. 463, 464. edit. Sylb.

‡ Contrary to the ancient cuſtom, as may be ſeen in Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. v. p. 320.

‖ Ibid. lib. vi. p. 410, 411.

ædiles

ædiles were eſtabliſhed in favour of the people, the latter obtained that they ſhould meet by curias to nominate them; and when the people's power was fully confirmed, they gained a further privilege * of proceeding to this nomination by tribes.

In the heat of the conteſts between the patricians and the plebeians, the latter inſiſted upon having fixt laws, that the public judgments might no longer be the effect of a capricious will, or of an arbitrary power. The ſenate, after much oppoſition, conſented to it; and to compoſe theſe laws, decemvirs were nominated. It was thought proper to grant them an extraordinary power, becauſe they were to give laws to almoſt incompatible parties. The nomination of all magiſtrates was ſuſpended, and they were choſen in the comitia ſole adminiſtrators of the republic. Thus they found themſelves inveſted with the conſular and tribunician power. By one they had the privilege of aſſembling the ſenate, by the other that of aſſembling the people. But they aſſembled neither ſenate nor people. Ten men in the republic had alone the whole legiſlative, the whole executive, and the whole judiciary power. Rome ſaw herſelf inſlaved by as cruel a tyranny as that of Tarquin. When Tarquin exerciſed his oppreſſions, Rome

* See Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. ix. p. 605.

was

was enraged at the power he had uſurped; when the decemvirs exerciſed theirs, ſhe was aſtoniſhed at the power ſhe had given.

What a ſtrange ſyſtem of tyranny was this, formed by men who had obtained the political and military power merely becauſe of their knowlege in civil affairs; and who, in the circumſtances of that very time, ſtood in need of the cowardice of the citizens at home, to venture upon the government of them, and of their courage abroad to have the ſecurity of their protection?

Virginia's death, who fell a victim by her father's hand to chaſtity and liberty, was a ſpectacle which put an end to the power of the decemvirs. Every man became free, becauſe every man had been injured; each ſhewed himſelf a citizen, becauſe each felt the bowels of a parent. The ſenate and people returned to that liberty which had been entruſted to ridiculous tyrants.

No people were ſo eaſily moved with ſpectacles as the Romans. That of the bleeding corpſe of Lucretia, put an end to the regal government. The debtor * who appeared in the forum with his body covered with ſtripes, cauſed an alteration in the form of the republic. The expoſing Virginia's body occaſioned the expulſion of the decemvirs. To

* Liv. lib. i. 23.

condemn

condemn Manlius, it was neceſſary to keep the people from ſeeing the capitol. Cæſar's bloody garment threw Rome again into ſlavery.

Under the decemvirs there were no rights to conteſt, but upon the reſtoration of liberty, jealouſies revived; and as long as the patricians had any privileges left, they were ſtripped of them by the plebeians.

The miſchief would not have been ſo great, had the plebeians been content to have deprived the patricians of their prerogatives, without injuring their rights as citizens. When the people aſſembled by curias or centuries, they were compoſed of ſenators, patricians, and plebeians. In their diſputes the plebeians gained this point *, that they alone, without patricians or ſenate, might enact laws called plebiſcita; and the comitia, in which they were made, were called comitia by tribes. Thus there were caſes in which the patricians had no ſhare † in the legiſlative power, and in which they were ſubject ‡ to the legiſlative

* Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. xi. p. 725.

† By the ſacred laws the plebeians had a power of making the plebiſcita by themſelves, without admitting the patricians into their aſſembly. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. vii. p. 410. and lib. vi. p. 430.

‡ By the law made after the expulſion of the decemvirs, the patricians were made ſubject to the plebiſcita, though they had not a right of voting there. Livy, lib. iii. and Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. xi. p. 725. This law was confirmed by that of Publius Philo the dictator, in the year of Rome 416. Livy, lib. viii.

power

power of another body of the ſtate. This was the higheſt extravagance of liberty. The people, to eſtabliſh a democracy, acted againſt the very principles of this government. One would have imagined, that ſo exorbitant a power muſt have deſtroyed the authority of the ſenate: But Rome had admirable inſtitutions. Two of theſe were eſpecially remarkable; by one of which the legiſlative power of the people was regulated, by the other it was limited.

The cenſors, and before them the conſuls *, formed and created, as it were, every five years the body of the people; they exerciſed the legiſlation on the very body that was poſſeſſed of the legiſlative power. "*Tiberius* "*Gracchus*, ſays Cicero, *cauſed the freedmen* "*to be admitted into the city tribes, not by the* "*force of his eloquence, but by a word and a* "*geſture; and had he not done ſo, the republic,* "*which we are now ſcarce able to ſupport, would* "*not even have exiſted.*"

On the other hand, the ſenate had the power of reſcuing, as it were, the republic out of the hands of the people, by creating a dictator, before whom the ſovereign power bowed its head, and the moſt popular laws were ſilent †.

* In the year 312, of Rome, the conſuls ſtill went through the office of regiſtring the people and their eſtates, as appears by Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. xi.

† Such as thoſe by which it was allowed to appeal from the deciſions of all the magiſtrates to the people.

If

If the people were jealous of their legiſlative power, they were leſs ſo of their executive. This they left almoſt intirely to the ſenate and to the conſuls; and ſcarce reſerved any thing more to themſelves, than the right of chuſing the magiſtrates, and of confirming the acts of the ſenate and of the generals.

Rome, whoſe paſſion was to command, whoſe ambition to make every thing ſubmit to her, who roſe by uſurpation, and ſtill ſupported herſelf by it, had conſtantly affairs of moment upon her hands; her enemies were always conſpiring againſt her, or ſhe againſt her enemies.

As ſhe was obliged to behave on the one hand with heroic courage, and on the other with conſummate prudence; the ſituation of things required of courſe, that the ſenate ſhould have the management of them. Thus the people diſputed every branch of the legiſlative power with the ſenate, becauſe they were jealous of their liberty; but they had no diſputes about the executive, becauſe they were jealous of their glory.

So great was the ſhare the ſenate took in the executive power, that, as Polybius * informs us, foreign nations imagined that Rome was an ariſtocracy. The ſenate diſpoſed of the public money and farmed out the revenue; they were arbiters of the affairs of the allies;

* Lib. vi.

they

they determined war or peace, and directed in this reſpect the conſuls; they fixed the number of the Roman and of the allied troops, aſſigned the provinces and armies to the conſuls or prætors, and, upon the expiration of the year of command, had the power of appointing their ſucceſſors; they decreed triumphs, received and ſent embaſſies; they nominated, rewarded, puniſhed, and were judges of kings; gave them, or declared they had forfeited, the title of allies of the Roman people.

The conſuls levied the troops which they were to carry into the field; they had the command of the ſea and of the land armies; diſpoſed of the allies; were inveſted with the whole power of the republic in the provinces; gave peace to the vanquiſhed nations, impoſed conditions on them, or referred them to the ſenate.

In the earlieſt times, when the people had ſome ſhare in the affairs relating to war and peace, they exerciſed rather their legiſlative than their executive power. They ſcarce did any thing elſe but confirm the acts of the kings, and after their expulſion, of the conſuls or ſenate. So far was war from being at the will of the people, that we ſee, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their tribunes, the ſenate or conſuls often declared it.

But in the drunkenneſs of their proſperity, they increaſed their executive power. Thus

they * created the military tribunes, the nomination of whom till then had belonged to the generals; and ſome time before the firſt Punic war, they decreed that themſelves only ſhould have the right † of declaring war.

The judiciary power was given to the people, to the ſenate, to the magiſtrates, and to particular judges. We muſt ſee in what manner it was diſtributed, beginning with their civil affairs.

The conſuls had ‡ the power of judging after the expulſion of the kings, as the prætors were judges after the conſuls. Servius Tullius diveſted himſelf of the judgment of civil cauſes, and the conſuls had cogniſance of them only in ‖ ſome very rare caſes, which for that reaſon were called *extraordinary* §. They were ſatisfied with naming the judges, and with forming the ſeveral tribunals. By a diſcourſe of Appius

* In the year of Rome 444, Livy lib. ix. As the war againſt Perſeus appeared ſomewhat dangerous, it was ordained by a ſenatus conſultum, that this law ſhould be ſuſpended, and the people agreed to it. Livy, Dec. v. lib. ii.

† They extorted it from the ſenate, ſays Freinſhemius, Dec. iii. lib. vi.

‡ Three is no doubt but the conſuls had the power of judging civil affairs before the creation of the prætors. See Livy, Dec. i. lib. ii. p. 19. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. x. p. 627. and the ſame Book, p. 645.

‖ The tribunes frequently judged by themſelves only, than which nothing rendered them more odious. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. xi. p. 709.

§ Judicia extraordinaria. See the Inſtitutes, book iv.

Claudius,

Claudius, in Dionyſius * Halicarnaſſeus, it appears, that from the 259th year of Rome, this was looked upon as an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among the Romans, and we ſhould not carry it far back, if we refer it to Servius Tullius.

Every year the prætor made a liſt † of ſuch as he choſe to diſcharge the office of judges during the year of his magiſtracy. From thence a proper number was ſelected for each cauſe; a cuſtom almoſt the ſame with what is now practiſed in England. And what was very favourable to liberty ‡, the prætor appointed the judges with || conſent of the parties. The great number of exceptions which they have to this day the power of making in England, agrees pretty near with this very circumſtance.

The judges decided only queſtions § of fact, whether a ſum of money, for inſtance, had been paid or not, whether an action had been committed or not. But queſtions of ** right, as they required ſome ſort of capacity, were

* Book vi. p. 360. † Album Judicum.

‡ "Our anceſtors, ſays Cicero pro Cluentio, would "not ſuffer any man, whom the parties had not agreed "to, to be judge of the leaſt pecuniary affair, much "leſs of a citizen's reputation."

|| See in the fragments of the Servilian, Cornelian, and other laws, in what manner theſe laws appointed judges for the crimes they propoſed to puniſh. They were often by choice, ſometimes by lot, or in fine by lot mixt together with choice.

§ Seneca de Benefic. lib. iii. cap. 7. in fine.

** See Quintilian lib. iv. p. 54. in fol. edit. of Paris, 1541.

always carried to the tribunal of the centumvirs *.

The kings reſerved to themſelves the judgment of criminal affairs, and in this they were ſucceeded by the conſuls. It was in conſequence of this authority that the conſul Brutus put his children, and all thoſe who were in conſpiracy with the Tarquins, to death. This was an exorbitant power. The conſuls being already poſſeſſed of the military command, extended the exerciſe of it even to civil affairs; and their procedures being diveſted of all forms of juſtice, were rather acts of violence than judgments.

This gave riſe to the Valerian law, which gave the liberty of an appeal to the people from every ordinance of the conſuls which endangered the life of a citizen. The conſuls after this had no longer a power of pronouncing ſentence of death upon a Roman citizen without the conſent of the people †.

We ſee in the firſt conſpiracy for the reſtoration of the Tarquins, that the criminals were tried by Brutus the conſul; in the ſecond, the ſenate and comitia were aſſembled to try them ‡.

* Leg. 2. ff. de Orig. Jur. Magiſtrates, who were called decemvirs, preſided in court, the whole under a prætor's direction.

† *Quoniam de capite civis Romani, injuſſu populi Romani, non erat permiſſum conſulibus jus dicere.* See Pomponius Leg. 2. ff. de Orig. Jur.

‡ Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. v. p. 322.

The

The laws diſtinguiſhed by the name of Sacred, allowed the plebeians the privilege of chuſing tribunes, which formed a body, whoſe pretenſions at firſt were immenſe. It is hard to determine which was greater, the inſolence of the plebeians in demanding, or the condeſcenſion and facility of the ſenate in granting. The Valerian law allowed of appeals to the people, that is, to the people compoſed of ſenators, patricians, and plebeians. The plebeians obtained, that the appeals ſhould be brought before them. A queſtion was ſoon after ſtarted, whether the plebeians had a right of judging a patrician; this was the ſubject of a diſpute, which the affair of Coriolanus gave riſe to, and which ended with that affair. When Coriolanus was accuſed by the tribunes before the people, he inſiſted, contrary to the ſpirit of the Valerian law, that, as he was a patrician, none but the conſuls had a power to judge him; the plebeians, contrary to the ſpirit of the ſame law, pretended that he ought to be judged by themſelves only, and they judged him accordingly.

This was moderated by a law of the twelve tables, which ordained that cauſes which concerned the life of a citizen, ſhould be decided * only in the great aſſemblies of the people. Hence the body of the plebeians, or, which

* The comitia by centuries. Thus Manlius Capitolinus was judged in theſe comitia. Livy, Dec. i. book vi. p. 60.

amounts to the very ſame, the comitia by tribes, now judged only of ſuch crimes as were puniſhed with a pecuniary mulct. To inflict a capital puniſhment a law was requiſite; but to condemn to a pecuniary fine, there was occaſion only for a plebiſcitum.

This regulation of the law of the twelve tables was very prudent. It produced an admirable reconciliation between the body of the plebeians and the ſenate. For as the full judiciary power of both depended on the greatneſs of the puniſhment and the nature of the crime, it was neceſſary they ſhould both agree.

The Valerian law aboliſhed all the remains of the Roman government, which had any reſemblance with that of the kings of Greece in the heroic times. The conſuls found themſelves diveſted of the power to puniſh crimes. Though all cauſes are public, yet we muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe which more nearly concern the mutual intercourſe of citizens, and thoſe which more nearly affect the ſtate in the relation it has to its ſubjects. The firſt are called private; the ſecond public. The latter were judged by the people; and in regard to the former, they named by particular commiſſion a quæſtor for the proſecution of each crime. The perſon choſen by the people was frequently one of the magiſtrates, and ſometimes a private man. He was called the quæſtor

quæſtor of parricide, and is often mentioned in the law of the twelve tables *.

The quæſtor nominated him whom they called judge of the queſtion, who drew the judges by lot, formed the tribunal, and preſided next under the quæſtor †.

Here it is proper to obſerve what ſhare the ſenate had in the nomination of the quæſtor, that we may ſee how far the two powers were balanced in this reſpect. Sometimes the ſenate cauſed a dictator to be choſen in order to exerciſe the office of quæſtor ‡; ſometimes they ordained that the people ſhould be convened by a tribune in order to proceed to the nomination of a quæſtor ‖; and in fine, the people ſometimes appointed a magiſtrate to make his report to the ſenate concerning a particular crime, and to deſire them to name a quæſtor, as may be ſeen in the judgment of Lucius Scipio §, in Livy **.

* Pomponius on the ſecond law in the Digeſt. de Orig. Jur.

† See a fragment of Ulpian, who gives another of the Cornelian law; it is to be met with in the Compariſon of the Moſaic and Roman laws, tit. 1. de ficariis and homicidiis.

‡ This took place eſpecially in regard to crimes committed in Italy, which were ſubject chiefly to the inſpection of the ſenate. See Livy, Dec. 1. lib. ix. concerning the conſpiracies of Capua.

‖ This was the caſe in the proſecution for the murder of Poſthumius, in the year of Rome 340. See Livy.

§ This judgment was given in the year of Rome 567.

** Book viii.

In the year of Rome 604, ſome of theſe commiſſions were rendered permanent *. By degrees all criminal cauſes were divided into different parts, which they called ſtanding queſtions. Different prætors were created, to each of whom ſome of thoſe queſtions were aſſigned: and a power was conferred on them for one year, of judging ſuch crimes as depended on thoſe queſtions, after which they went to the government of their reſpective provinces.

At Carthage the ſenate of the hundred was compoſed of judges who enjoyed that dignity for life †. But at Rome the prætors were annual, and the judges were not even for ſo long a term, ſince they were nominated for each cauſe.

The judges were choſen from the order of ſenators, till the time of the Gracchi. Tiberius Gracchus cauſed a law to paſs, that they ſhould be taken from the equeſtrian order; a change ſo very conſiderable, that the tribunes boaſted of having cut, by one rogation only, the ſinews of the ſenatorian dignity.

It is neceſſary to obſerve that the three powers may be very well diſtributed in regard to the liberty of the conſtitution, though not ſo well in reſpect to the liberty of the

* Cicero in Bruto.

† This is proved from Livy, lib. iv. who ſays that Hannibal rendered their magiſtracy annual.

ſubject.

ſubject. At Rome the people had the greateſt ſhare of the legiſlative, a part of the executive, and part of the judiciary power; by which means they had ſo great a weight in the government, as required ſome other power to balance it. The ſenate indeed had part of the executive power, and ſome ſhare of the legiſlative *; but this was not ſufficient to counterbalance the weight of the people. It was neceſſary that they ſhould have a ſhare in the judiciary power; and accordingly they had a ſhare when the judges were choſen from among the ſenators. But when the Gracchi deprived the ſenators of the power of judging †, the ſenate were no longer able to withſtand the people. To favour therefore the liberty of the ſubject they ſtruck at the liberty of the conſtitution, but the former periſhed with the latter.

Infinite were the miſchiefs which aroſe from thence. The conſtitution was changed at a time when the flame of civil diſcord had ſcarce left any conſtitution. The knights were no longer that middle order which united the people to the ſenate; the chain of the conſtitution was broke.

There were even particular reaſons againſt transferring the judiciary power to the equeſ-

* The ſenatus conſulta were of force for the ſpace of a year, though not confirmed by the people. Dionyſ. Halicarn. book ix. p. 595. and book xi. p. 735.

† In the year 630.

trian

trian order. The conſtitution of Rome was founded on this principle, that none ſhould be enliſted as ſoldiers but ſuch as were men of ſufficient property to anſwer for their conduct to the republic. The knights as perſons of the greateſt property formed the cavalry of the legions. But when their dignity increaſed, they refuſed to ſerve any longer in that capacity; and another kind of cavalry was obliged to be raiſed: thus Marius enliſted all ſorts of people into his army, and ſoon after the republic was loſt *.

Beſides, the knights were the farmers of the public revenues; who, as they were avaricious, multiplied misfortunes, and always encreaſed the neceſſities of the ſtate. Inſtead of giving to ſuch people as thoſe the power of judging, they ought to have been conſtantly under the inſpection of judges. This we muſt ſay in commendation of the ancient French laws; they have ſtipulated with the officers of the revenues, with as great a diffidence as would be obſerved between enemies. When the judiciary power at Rome was transferred to the farmers of the revenues, virtue, government, laws, magiſtracy, and magiſtrates were no more.

We have a very lively repreſentation of this in ſome fragments of Diodorus Siculus and Dio. "*Mutius Scævola*, ſays Diodo-

* *Capite cenſos pleroſque.* Salluſt. de bello Jugurth.

"rus

" rus *, *wanted to revive the ancient morals,* " *and the laudable cuſtom of ſober and frugal* " *living. For his predeceſſors having entred* " *into a contract with the farmers of the* " *revenue, who at that time had the judiciary* " *power at Rome, had filled the province with* " *all manner of crimes. But Scævola made an* " *example of the publicans, and impriſoned thoſe* " *who had ſent others to priſon.* "

Dio informs us †, that Publius Rutilius, his lieutenant, who was not leſs obnoxious to the equeſtrian order, was accuſed upon his return, of having received ſome preſents, and was condemned to a fine. Upon which he inſtantly reſigned his effects. His innocence appeared in this, that he was found to be worth a much leſs ſum than he was charged with having extorted, and that he ſhewed a juſt title to all he was poſſeſſed of, but he would not live any longer in the ſame city with ſuch profligate wretches.

‡ The Italians, ſays Diodorus again, bought up whole droves of ſlaves in Sicily, to till their lands and to take care of their cattle; but refuſed them a neceſſary ſubſiſtence. Theſe wretches were then forced to go and rob on

* Fragment of this author, book 36. in the collection of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, Of virtues and vices.

† Fragment of his hiſtory, taken from the extract Of virtues and vices.

‡ Fragment of the xxxivth book, in the extract Of virtues and vices.

the

the highways, armed with lances and clubs, covered with beaſts skins, and followed by large maſtiff dogs. Thus the whole province was laid waſte, and the inhabitants could not call any thing their own, but what was ſecured within the walls of towns. There was neither proconſul nor prætor, that could or would oppoſe this diſorder, or that preſumed to puniſh theſe ſlaves, becauſe they belonged to the knights, who at Rome were poſſeſſed of the judiciary power *. And yet this was one of the cauſes of the war of the ſlaves. I ſhall add only one word more. A profeſſion that neither has nor can have any other view than lucre; a profeſſion that was always aſking, without being ever aſked, a deaf and inexorable profeſſion that impoveriſhed the rich, and increaſed even the miſery of the poor; ſuch a profeſſion, I ſay, ſhould never have been entruſted with the judiciary power at Rome.

Such was the diſtribution of the three powers in Rome. But they were far from being thus diſtributed in the provinces: Liberty was in the center, and tyranny in the extreme parts.

While Rome extended her dominions no further than Italy, the people were governed as confederates; and the laws of each republic

* *Penes quos Romæ tum judicia erant, atque ex equeſtri ordine ſolerent ſortito judices eligi in cauſa prætorum & proconſulum, quibus poſt adminiſtratam provinciam dies dicta erat.*

were

were preſerved. But as ſoon as ſhe enlarged her conqueſts, and the ſenate had no longer an immediate inſpection over the provinces, and the magiſtrates reſiding at Rome were not capable of governing the empire, they were obliged to ſend prætors and proconſuls. From that time the harmony of the three powers was loſt. Thoſe who were ſent with ſuch commiſſions, were intruſted with a power which comprehended that of all the Roman magiſtracies; nay even that of the people *. They were deſpotic magiſtrates, extremely proper for the diſtance of the places to which they were ſent. They exerciſed the three powers; being, if I may preſume to uſe the expreſſion, the baſhaws of the republic.

We have elſewhere obſerved, that in a commonwealth the ſame magiſtrate ought to be poſſeſſed of the executive power, as well civil as military. To this it is owing that a conquering republic can hardly communicate her government, and rule the conquered ſtate according to the form of her own conſtitution. In fact, as the magiſtrate ſhe ſends to govern, is inveſted with the executive, as well civil as military power, he muſt alſo have the power of legiſlation: for who is it that could make laws without him? He muſt likewiſe have the judiciary power: for who could pretend to judge

* They made their edicts upon coming into the provinces.

inde-

independently of him? It is neceſſary therefore that the governor ſhe ſends ſhould be intruſted with the three powers, as was practiſed in the Roman provinces.

A monarchy can communicate its government with greater eaſe, becauſe the officers it ſends, have, ſome the civil executive, and others the military executive power; which does not neceſſarily imply a deſpotic authority.

It was a privilege of the utmoſt conſequence to a Roman citizen, to have none but the people for his judges. Were it not for this, he would have been ſubject in the provinces to the arbitrary power of a proconſul or of a proprætor. The city never felt the tyranny, which was exerciſed on conquered nations only.

Thus in the Roman world, as at Sparta, thoſe who were free, enjoyed freedom in the greateſt extent; while thoſe who were ſlaves, laboured under the extremity of ſlavery.

While the citizens paid taxes, they were raiſed with great juſtice and equality. The regulation of Servius Tullius was obſerved, who had diſtributed the people into ſix claſſes according to their difference of property, and fixed the ſeveral ſhares of the public taxes in proportion to that which each perſon had in the government. Hence they bore with the greatneſs of the tax on account of the proportionable greatneſs of credit, and conſoled themſelves for the ſmallneſs of their credit with the conſiderations of the ſmallneſs of the tax.

There

There was alſo another thing worthy of admiration, which is, that as Servius Tullius's diviſion into claſſes was in ſome meaſure the fundamental principle of the conſtitution, it thence reſulted that an equal levying of the taxes was ſo connected with that fundamental principle, that one could not be aboliſhed without the other.

But while the city paid the taxes as ſhe pleaſed, or payed none at all *, the provinces were plundered by the knights, who were the farmers of the public revenues. We have already mentioned their oppreſſive extortions; and all hiſtory is full of them.

"*All Aſia*, ſaid Mithridates †, *expects me* "*as its deliverer; ſo great is the hatred which* "*the rapaciouſneſs of the proconſuls* ‡, *the* "*executions of the officers of the revenue, and* "*the calumnies of judicial proceedings* ‖, *have* "*excited againſt the Romans.*"

Hence it was that the ſtrength of the provinces made no addition to, but rather weakened the ſtrength of the republic. Hence it was that the provinces looked upon the loſs of the liberty of Rome as the epocha of their own freedom.

* After the conqueſt of Macedonia taxes ceaſed at Rome.

† Speech taken from Trogus Pompeius, and related by Juſtin, book xxxviii.

‡ See the orations againſt Verres.

‖ It is well known what ſort of a tribunal was that of Varus, which provoked the Germans to revolt.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Two cauſes which deſtroyed Rome.

WHILST the ſovereignty of Rome was confined to Italy, it was eaſy for the commonwealth to ſubſiſt: Every ſoldier was at the ſame time a citizen; every conſul raiſed an army, and other citizens marched into the field under his ſucceſſor: As their forces were not very numerous, ſuch * perſons only were received among the troops, as had poſſeſſions conſiderable enough to make them intereſted in the preſervation of the city; the ſenate kept a watchful eye over the conduct of the generals, and did not give them an opportunity of machinating any thing to the prejudice of their country.

But after the legions had paſſed the Alps and croſſed the ſea, the ſoldiers, whom the Romans had been obliged to leave during ſeveral campaigns in the countries they were ſubduing, loſt inſenſibly that genius and turn of mind

* The freedmen, and ſuch as were called capite cenſi (becauſe, being poſſeſſed of little or nothing, they were ſubject to the poll tax only) were not at firſt enrolled among the land-forces, except in caſes of urgent neceſſity: Servius Tullius had ranked them in the ſixth claſs, and ſoldiers were levied out of the five firſt only. But when Marius ſet out againſt Jugurtha, he enliſted all without diſtinction. *Milites ſcribere*, ſays Salluſt, *non modo majorum neque ex claſſibus, ſed, uti cujuſque libido erat, capite cenſos pleroſque.*—— De Bello Jugurthin.

which

which characterized a Roman citizen; and the generals, having armies and kingdoms at their diſpoſal, were ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and could no longer obey.

The ſoldiers therefore began to acknowlege no ſuperior but their general; to found their hopes on him only, and to view the city as from a great diſtance: They were no longer the ſoldiers of the republic, but of Sylla, of Marius, of Pompey, and of Cæſar. The Romans could no longer tell, whether the perſon who headed an army in a province was their general or their enemy.

So long as the people of Rome were corrupted by their tribunes only, on whom they could beſtow nothing but their power, the ſenate could eaſily defend themſelves, becauſe they acted conſiſtently and with one regular tenor; whereas the common people were continually ſhifting from the extremes of fury to the extremes of cowardice; but when they were enabled to inveſt their favourites with a formidable exterior authority, the whole wiſdom of the ſenate was baffled, and the commonwealth was undone.

The reaſon why free ſtates are not ſo permanent as other forms of government, is, becauſe the misfortunes and ſucceſſes which happen to them, generally occaſion the loſs of liberty; whereas the ſucceſſes and misfortunes of an arbitrary government, contribute

equally to the enſlaving of the people. A wiſe republic ought not to run any hazard which may expoſe it to good or ill fortune; the only happineſs the ſeveral individuals of it ſhould aſpire after, is, to give perpetuity to their ſtate.

If the unbounded extent of the Roman empire proved the ruin of the republic, the vaſt compaſs of the city was no leſs fatal to it.

The Romans had ſubdued the whole univerſe by the aſſiſtance of the nations of Italy, on whom they had beſtowed various privileges at different times; moſt of thoſe nations did not, at firſt, ſet any great value on the freedom of the city of Rome, and ſome * choſe rather to preſerve their ancient uſages; but when this privilege became that of univerſal ſovereignty; when a man, who was not a Roman citizen, was conſidered as nothing, and, with this title, was all things, the people of Italy reſolved either to be Romans, or die: Not being able to obtain this by cabals and intreaties they had recourſe to arms; and †

* The Æqui ſaid in their aſſemblies, Thoſe in whoſe power it was to chuſe, have preferred their own laws to the freedom of the city of Rome, which was a neceſſary penalty upon ſuch as could not refuſe it. Liv. lib. ix.

† The Aſculani, the Marſi, the Veſtini, the Marrucini, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeians, the Venuſini, the Iapyges, the Lucani, the Samnites, and other nations. Appian, de Bello civil. lib. i.

riſing

riſing in all that part of Italy oppoſite to the Ionian ſea, the reſt of the allies were going to follow their example: Rome being now forced to combat againſt thoſe who were, if I may be allowed the figure, the hands with which they ſhackled the univerſe, was upon the brink of ruin: The Romans were going to be confined merely to their walls; they therefore granted this ſo much wiſhed-for * privilege, to allies, who had not yet been wanting in fidelity; and they indulged it, by inſenſible degrees, to all other nations.

But now Rome was no longer that city, the inhabitants of which had breathed one and the ſame ſpirit, the ſame love for liberty, the ſame hatred of tyranny; a city in which a jealouſy of the power of the ſenate and of the prerogatives of the great (ever accompanied with reſpect) was only a love of equality. The nations of Italy † being made citizens of Rome, every city brought thither its genius, its particular intereſts, and its dependance on ſome mighty protector: Rome being now rent and divided, no longer formed one entire body, and men were no longer citizens of it, but in

* The Tuſcans, the Umbri, the Latins. This prompted ſome nations to ſubmit themſelves; and as theſe were alſo made citizens, others likewiſe laid down their arms, ſo that at laſt there remained only the Samnites, who were extirpated.

† Let the reader figure to himſelf this monſtrous head, formed of all the nations of Italy, which by the ſuffrage of every individual, governed the reſt of the world.

a kind of fictitious way; as there were no longer the ſame magiſtrates, the ſame walls, the ſame gods, the ſame temples, the ſame burying places; Rome was no longer beheld with the ſame eyes; the citizens were no longer fired with the ſame love for their country, and the Roman ſentiments were obliterated.

Cities and nations were now invited to Rome by the ambitious, to diſconcert the ſuffrages, or influence them in their own favour; the public aſſemblies were ſo many conſpiracies againſt the ſtate, and a tumultuous crowd of ſeditious wretches were dignified with the title of Comitia *. The authority of the people

[* It is an eſſential point to fix the number of citizens that are to form the public aſſemblies; otherwiſe it might be uncertain whether the whole body or only a part of the people have voted. At Sparta, the number was fixed to ten thouſand. But at Rome, a city deſigned by providence to riſe from the weakeſt beginning to the higheſt pitch of grandeur; Rome, a city fated to experience all viciſſitudes of fortune; Rome, that had ſometimes all its inhabitants without its walls, and ſometimes all Italy, and a great part of the world within them; at Rome, I ſay, this number was never fixed, which was one of the principal cauſes of its ruin. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, book ii. ch. 2. The ſame author obſerves from Cicero, de Leg. lib. i. and iii. that another cauſe of its ruin was, in making, towards the cloſe of the republic, the ſuffrages ſecret. The people's in a democracy ought always to be public, who are to be directed by thoſe of higher rank. But when the body of the nobles are to vote in an ariſtocraſy, or in a democraſy the ſenate, as the buſineſs is then only to prevent intrigues, the ſuffrages cannot be too ſecret. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, ibid.]

and

and their laws, nay that people themſelves, were no more than ſo many chimæras, and ſo univerſal was the anarchy of thoſe times, that it was not poſſible to determine whether the people had made a law or not.

Authors enlarge very copiouſly on the diviſions which proved the deſtruction of Rome; but their readers ſeldom diſcover thoſe diviſions to have been always neceſſary and inevitable. The grandeur of the republic was the only ſource of that calamity, and exaſperated popular tumults into civil wars. Diſſenſions were not to be prevented, and thoſe martial ſpirits, which were ſo fierce and formidable abroad, could not be habituated to any conſiderable moderation at home. Thoſe who expect in a free ſtate, to ſee the people undaunted in war and puſillanimous in peace, are certainly deſirous of impoſſibilities; and it may be advanced as a general rule, that whenever a perfect calm is viſible, in a ſtate that calls itſelf a republic, the ſpirit of liberty no longer ſubſiſts.

Union, in a body politic, is a very equivocal term: True union is ſuch a harmony as makes all the particular parts, as oppoſite as they may ſeem to us, concur to the general welfare of the ſociety, in the ſame manner as diſcords in muſic contribute to the general melody of ſound. Union may prevail in a ſtate full of ſeeming commotions; or, in other words, there may be an harmony from whence reſults proſperity, which alone is true peace, and may be con-

ſidered in the ſame view, as the various parts of this univerſe, which are eternally connected by the action of ſome and the reaction of others.

In a deſpotic ſtate indeed, which is every government where the power is immoderately exerted, a real diviſion is perpetually kindled. The peaſant, the ſoldier, the merchant, the magiſtrate, and the grandee have no other conjunction than what ariſes from the ability of the one to oppreſs the other, without reſiſtance; and if at any time a union happens to be introduced, citizens are not then united, but dead bodies are laid in the gave contiguous to each other.

It muſt be acknowleged that the Roman laws were too weak to govern the republic: But experience has proved it to be an invariable fact, that good laws, which raiſe the reputation and power of a ſmall republic, become incommodious to it, when once its grandeur is eſtabliſhed, becauſe it was their natural effect to make a great people, but not to govern them.

The difference is very conſiderable between good laws, and thoſe which may be called convenient; between ſuch laws as give a people dominion over others, and ſuch as continue them in the poſſeſſion of power, when they have once acquired it.

There

There is at this time a republic * in the world, of which few perſons have any knowlege, and which, by plans accompliſhed in ſilence and ſecreſy, is daily enlarging its power. And certain it is, that if it ever riſes to that height of grandeur for which it ſeems preordained by its wiſdom, it muſt inevitably change its laws, and the neceſſary innovations will not be effected by any legiſlator, but muſt ſpring from corruption itſelf.

Rome was founded for grandeur, and its laws † had an admirable tendency to beſtow it; for which reaſon, in all the variations of her government, whether monarchy, ariſtocraſy, or popular, ſhe conſtantly engaged in enterprizes which required conduct to accompliſh them, and always ſucceeded. The experience of a day did not furniſh her with more wiſdom than all other nations, but ſhe obtained it by a long ſucceſſion of events. She ſuſtained a ſmall, a moderate, and an immenſe fortune with the ſame ſuperiority, derived true welfare from the whole train of her proſperities,

* The canton of Bern.

† The Roman government has been thought defective by ſome, becauſe it was an intermixture of monarchy, ariſtocraſy, and popular authority. But the perfection of a government does not conſiſt in its conformity to any particular plan to be found in the writings of politicians; but in its correſpondence to the views every legiſlator ought to entertain for the grandeur and felicity of a people. Was not the government of Sparta compoſed of three branches?

and refined every inſtance of calamity into beneficial inſtructions.

She loſt her liberty, becauſe ſhe compleated her work too ſoon.

CHAP. X.

Of the Corruption of the Romans.

I AM of opinion that the ſect of Epicurus, which began to be propagated at Rome, towards the cloſe of the republic, was very prejudicial to the minds and genius of the people *. The Greeks had been infatuated with its doctrines long before, and conſequently, were corrupted much earlier than the Romans. We are aſſured by Polybius †, that oaths, in his time, could not induce any perſon to place confidence in a Greek, whereas they were con-

* Cyneas having diſcourſed of the doctrines of this ſect, at the table of Pyrrhus, Fabricius ſaid, He wiſhed the enemies of Rome would all embrace ſuch kind of principles. Life of Pyrrhus.

† If you lend a talent to a Greek, and bind him to the repayment, by ten engagements, with as many ſecurities, and witneſſes to the loan, it is impoſſible to make them regard their word; whereas, among the Romans, whether it be owing to their obligation of accounting for the public and private money, they are always punctual to the oaths they have taken. For which reaſon, the apprehenſions of infernal torments were wiſely eſtabliſhed, and it is altogether irrational that they now oppoſe them. Polyb. lib. vi.

fidere

ſidered by a Roman as inviolable obligations upon his conſcience.

There is a paſſage in one of Cicero's letters to * Atticus, which manifeſtly diſcovers how much the Romans had degenerated in this particular, ſince the time of Polybius.

"Memmius," ſays he, "imparted to the "ſenate the agreement he and his fellow can-"didate had made with the conſuls, by which "the latter ſtipulated to favour them in their "ſollicitations for the conſulſhip the enſuing "year; and they obliged themſelves to pay "four hundred thouſand ſeſterces to the con-"ſuls, if they did not furniſh them with three "augurs, who ſhould declare they themſelves "were preſent when the people made the Cu-"riatian law †, though in reality it had not "been enacted; and two former conſuls, who "ſhould affirm they had aſſiſted at ſigning the "edict of the ſenate which regulated the ſtate "of the provinces aſſigned to the preſent con-"ſuls, notwithſtanding no ſuch edict was in "being." What an admirable ſet of people we diſcover in a ſingle contract!

As religion always furniſhes the beſt ſecurity for the rectitude of human actions, ſo there

* Polyb. lib. iv. let. 18.

† The Curiatian law diſpoſed of the military power, and the edict of the ſenate regulated the troops, the money, and officers, that were to be allotted to the governors: Now the conſuls, in order to accompliſh theſe particulars, to their own ſatisfaction, contrived a falſe law and a falſe edict of the ſenate.

was

was this peculiarity among the Romans, that the love they expreſſed for their country, was blended with ſome particular ſentiment of devotion. That mighty city, founded in the moſt auſpicious period; the great Romulus, at once their monarch and their God; the Capitol, eſteemed as eternal as the city; and the city, reputed as eternal as its founder, had anciently ſtruck ſuch impreſſions on the minds of the Romans, as might well be wiſhed to have been conſtantly retained.

The grandeur of the ſtate, in general, conſtituted the greatneſs of its particular members; but as affluence conſiſts in conduct, and not in riches; that wealth of the Romans, which had certain limitations, introduced a luxury and profuſion which had no bounds. Thoſe who had been at firſt corrupted by their oppulence, received the ſame taint in their poverty, by aſpiring after acquiſitions, that no way comported with private life; it was difficult to be a good citizen, under the influence of ſtrong deſires and the regret of a large fortune that had been loſt: People, in this ſituation, were prepared for any deſperate attempt; and, as Salluſt * ſays, there was, at that time, a generation of men, who, as they had no patrimony

* *Ut merito dicatur genitos eſſe, qui nec ipſi habere poſſent vos familiares, nec alios pati.* Fragment of Salluſt cited by Auguſtin, in his book Of the city of God, lib. ii. c. 18.

of

of their own, could not endure to ſee others leſs neceſſitous than themſelves.

But as great ſoever as the corruption of Rome might then be, all its calamitous effects were not introduced among the people, for the efficacy of thoſe inſtitutions, by which they were originally eſtabliſhed, was ſo extraordinary, that they always preſerved an heroic fortitude, and devoted themſelves, with the greateſt application, to war, amidſt all the ſoftenings of luxury and pleaſure; which ſeems to me, to be a circumſtance, in which they were never imitated by any nation in the world.

The Romans were not ſolicitous to improve commerce, or cultivate the ſciences, but ranked them among the attentions proper for ſlaves *; we may except, indeed, ſome particular perſons, who had received their freedom, and perſiſted in their former induſtry. But their knowlege, in general, was confined to the art of war, which was the only track † by which they could arrive at promotions in the magiſtracy, and other ſtations of honour; for

* Cic. Office. lib. i. c. 42. *Illiberales & ſordidi quæſtus mercenariorum omnium, quorum operæ, non quorum artes emuntur: eſt enim illis ipſa merces auctoramentum ſervitutis.* The merchants, adds that author, raiſe no profit, unleſs they falſify their word. Agriculture is the nobleſt of all arts, and moſt worthy of a man in a ſtate of freedom.

† They were obliged to ſerve ten years, between the age of ſixteen years and forty-ſeven. Polyb. lib. vi.

which

which reaſon, their military virtues ſubſiſted after all the reſt were extinguiſhed.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sylla, Pompey, and Cæſar.

I Intreat the reader's permiſſion to turn my eyes from the horrors of the wars between Marius and Sylla; Appian has collected all the dreadful particulars into his hiſtory: Beſides the jealouſy, ambition, and barbarity of the two chiefs, each particular Roman was infatuated with fury; the new citizens *, and the ancient, no longer conſidered each other as members of the ſame republic, but gave a looſe to a ſeries of hoſtilities, ſo peculiar in their nature, as to comprehend all the miſeries of a civil and foreign war.

Sylla made ſeveral good laws, and reduced the power of the tribunes; to which we may add, that the moderation or caprice which induced him to reſign the dictatorſhip, re-eſtabliſhed the ſenate, for ſome time; but, in

* Marius, in order to obtain a commiſſion for carrying on the war againſt Mithridates, in prejudice of Sylla's pretenſions, had, by the concurrence of Sulpicius the tribune, incorporated the eight new tribes of the people of Italy, into the ancient, which rendered the Italians maſters of the ſuffrages; and the generality of that people eſpouſed the party of Marius, whilſt the ſenate and the ancient citizens engaged in the intereſt of Sylla.

the

the fury of his ſucceſs, he ſuffered himſelf to be hurried into actions, which, in their conſequences, made it impoſſible for Rome to preſerve her liberty.

In his Aſian expedition, he wholly deſtroyed the military diſcipline: he accuſtomed his army to rapine *, and taught them wants to which before they were abſolute ſtrangers: He firſt corrupted the ſoldiers, who afterwards corrupted their leaders.

He entered Rome with an armed force, and taught the Roman generals to violate the aſylum of liberty. †

He diſtributed ‡ the lands of the citizens among his ſoldiers, and, by that proceeding, corrupted them for ever; becauſe, from that moment, there was not one of the military profeſſion who did not wait for an opportunity of ſeizing the effects of his fellow-citizens.

He was likewiſe the inventor of proſcriptions, and ſet a price on the head of every man who had not embraced his party. From that time, it became impoſſible for any one to be devoted to the republic; for whilſt two ambitious men

* See in Catiline's conſpiracy, the deſcription Salluſt has given us of that army.

† *Fugatis Marii copiis, primus urbem Romam cum armis ingreſſus eſt.* A fragment of John of Artioch, in his extract of the virtues and vices.

‡ At the beginning of the wars, the lands of the vanquiſhed enemies were parcelled among the army; but Sylla made the ſame diviſion of thoſe which belonged to the citizens.

were

were contending for ſuperiority, thoſe who obſerved a neutrality, or were attached to the cauſe of liberty, were ſure to be proſcribed by either of the competitors who ſhould prove victorious; it therefore became prudent to engage in one of the two parties.

He was ſucceeded, ſays Cicero *, by a man, who in an impious cauſe, and a victory ſtill more infamous, not only confiſcated the effects of individuals, but involved entire provinces in the ſame calamity.

Sylla, when he abdicated the dictatorſhip, pretended, that he was unwilling to live in any other manner than under the protection of his own laws: But that action, which indicated ſo much moderation, was itſelf a conſequence of his violences. He had given lands to forty-ſeven legions, in different parts of Italy. Theſe forces, ſays Appian, regarding their fortune as attached to his life, gave the greateſt attention to his ſafety, and were always ready either to ſuccour or avenge him †.

As the republic was fated to deſtruction, the only material queſtion was, who ſhould have the credit of overwhelming it?

Two men equally ambitious, with this exception, that the one knew how to proceed directly to his purpoſe better than the other, eclipſed, by their reputation, their exploits,

* Offices, lib. ii. c. 8.

† Agreeably to what happened after the death of Cæſar.

and

and their virtues, all the reſt of the citizens. Pompey made the firſt appearance in the ſcene of action, and Cæſar immediately followed him.

POMPEY, to render himſelf popular, had diſannulled the law of Sylla, which limited the power of the people, and when he had ſacrificed the moſt ſalutary laws of his country to his particular ambition, he obtained all he deſired, and the raſh indiſcretion of the populace was altogether unbounded in his favour.

The Roman laws had wiſely parcelled out the public power into ſeveral magiſtracies, which mutually ſupported as well as reſtrained and tempered each other; and as the power of all, who enjoyed thoſe promotions, was confined to a proper extent, every citizen was qualified for a ſtation of that nature; and the people, ſeeing numbers of ſuch perſons paſſing away in ſucceſſion, were not habituated to any particular magiſtrate among them. But, in the times we are now deſcribing, the plan of government was changed; the moſt potent competitors obtained extraordinary commiſſions from the people, which annihilated the authority of the magiſtrates, and drew all the great affairs into the hands of one man, or a few.

Was war to be proclaimed againſt Sertorius? Pompey was nominated to command the army. Were the Romans to march againſt Mithridates? every voice called aloud for Pompey.

Did

Did it become neceſſary to tranſmit corn to Rome? the people would have given it over for loſt, had not Pompey been entruſted with the importation. Were the pirates to be deſtroyed? who ſo proper for that expedition as Pompey? And when Cæſar himſelf threatned Rome with an invaſion, the ſenators cried out, in their turn, and placed all their confidence in Pompey.

I am willing to believe (ſaid Marcus * to the people) that this Pompey, who is ſo much careſſed by the nobility, is more inclinable to ſecure your liberty, than he is to countenance their authority over you: But there was a time, when each individual among you was protected by ſeveral, and not the whole body of the people by one perſon; and when it was never known, that a ſingle man either gave or took away things of ſo much conſequence.

As Rome was formed for grandeur, it became neceſſary to unite the honours and power in the ſame perſons, which in unquiet times would fix the admiration of the people on one particular citizen.

When honours are granted, the givers know exactly what they beſtow; but when power is added to the donation, they can never be certain how far it will be extended.

Immoderate preferences given to a citizen, in a republic, are always productive of neceſ-

* Fragment of Salluſt.

ſary

ſary effects; they either raiſe envy in the people, or make their affection overflow all bounds.

When Pompey returned twice to Rome, in a condition to enſlave the republic, he had the moderation to diſband his armies, before he entered the city; and then he made his appearance with the air of a common citizen: Theſe inſtances of a diſintereſted behaviour, which completed all his glory, did not fail, in their conſequences, to make the ſenate always declare in his favour, when ever he attempted any thing prejudicial to the laws.

The ambition of Pompey was more unactive and gentle than that of Cæſar. This warrior reſolved, like Sylla, to open himſelf a paſſage to ſovereign power by arms, but Pompey grew diſpleaſed at ſuch a method of oppreſſion; he aſpired, indeed, to the dictatorſhip, but was willing to owe it to the ſuffrages of the people; he could not reſolve to uſurp power, but would have been glad to have had it tendered to him as a gift.

As the favour of the people is always in a fluctuating ſtate, there were ſome ſeaſons, wherein Pompey beheld his reputation in a declining condition *; and it affected him in the moſt tender part, to ſee the very perſons he deſpiſed, make advances in popularity, and then employ it againſt him.

* See Plutarch.

This led him into three actions equally fatal; he corrupted the people with money, and fixed a price, in the elections, on the ſuffrage of each citizen.

He employed the vileſt of the populace to incommode the magiſtrates in the exerciſe of their functions, in hopes, that wiſe people, growing weary of living in a ſtate of anarchy, would be urged by deſpair to create him dictator.

In a word, he united his intereſts, with thoſe of Cæſar and Craſſus: Cato ſaid, their union and not their enmity deſtroyed the republic; and in reality, it was then reduced to ſuch an unhappy ſtate, that it received leſs injury from civil wars than by a peace, which, as it united the views and intereſts of the leading men, ſo it naturally introduced tyranny in the government.

Pompey did not properly lend his reputation to Cæſar; but ſacrified it to his cauſe, without knowing what he did; and Cæſar, in return, employed all the power he had received from Pompey to the prejudice of the donor, and even played off his own artifices againſt him: He raiſed troubles in the city by his emiſſaries; he made himſelf maſter of all elections; and conſuls, prætors, and tribunes purchaſed their promotions, at their own price.

The ſenate, who eaſily penetrated into Cæſar's deſigns, had recourſe to Pompey, and intreated him to undertake the defence of the republic,

republic, if that name might properly be given to a government which implored protection of one of its citizens.

I am of opinion, that what contributed moſt to Pompey's deſtruction, was the ſhame that affected him, when he grew ſenſible, that by raiſing Cæſar as he had done, he had committed a fatal overſight; but he ſuffered this conſideration to prevail as late as poſſible, and did not prepare for his defence, leſt he ſhould be obliged to acknowlege himſelf in danger. He aſſerted before the ſenate that Cæſar durſt not engage in a war; and becauſe he had made ſuch a declaration ſeveral times, he always perſiſted in repeating it.

One circumſtance ſeems to have capacitated Cæſar for any undertaking, and that was the unhappy conformity of names; the ſenate had added to his government of the Ciſalpine Gaul, all that part of Gaul which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Tranſalpine.

As the politics of thoſe times did not permit armies to be ſtationed near Rome, ſo neither would they ſuffer Italy to be entirely deſtitute of troops; for which reaſon, conſiderable forces were quartered in Ciſalpine Gaul, a country which extends from the Rubicon, a little river in Romania, to the Alps: But, in order to ſecure the city of Rome againſt thoſe troops, the ſenate paſſed that famous edict, which is ſtill to be ſeen engraven in the road near Rimini, by which they ſolemnly devoted to the infernal

gods, and branded with ſacrilege and parricide, any perſon whatever, who ſhould preſume to paſs the Rubicon, with an army, a legion, or a ſingle cohort.

To a government of that importance as to keep the city in awe, another was added which proved ſtill more conſiderable, and that was all the Tranſalpine Gaul, which comprehended the ſouthern parts of France, where Cæſar had for ſeveral years an opportunity of proſecuting war againſt as many nations as he pleaſed; by which means his ſoldiers advanced in years as well as himſelf, and were conquered by him, in their turn, as well as the Barbarians. Had Cæſar not been entruſted with the government of Tranſalpine Gaul, he could not have corrupted his troops, nor rendered his name venerable to them by ſo many victories; and had he not enjoyed Ciſalpine Gaul, Pompey might have ſtopped him at the paſs of the Alps, whereas he was compelled to retire from Italy, when the war began, which made him loſe among his own party that reputation which, in civil wars, is the very ſoul of power.

The ſame conſternation, which Hannibal diffuſed through Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, was ſpread by Cæſar over all that city, when he had paſſed the Rubicon. Pompey was ſo confounded, that he became incapable, even in the firſt moments of the war, of forming any deſign but ſuch as is uſually ſuggeſted in the moſt deſperate conjunctures. He could only

only retire, and truſt to flight. Accordingly he left Rome and the public treaſure; and as he was in no condition to retard the conqueror, he forſook part of his troops, abandoned all Italy, and croſſed the ſea.

Cæſar's fortune has been greatly celebrated; but this extraordinary man enjoyed ſo many great qualities, without the intermixture of a defect, though he had ſeveral vicious inclinations, that he would have been victorious at the head of any army he had commanded, and would have governed in any republic that had given him birth.

When he had defeated Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, he paſſed into Greece to ſeek Pompey himſelf; and this general, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſea-coaſts, and was maſter of a ſuperior force, was on the point of beholding Cæſar's army deſtroyed by miſery and famine. But as the deſire of approbation was his predominant frailty, he could not forbear giving attention to ſome vain ſpeeches * of thoſe about him, who were perpetually blaming his conduct, and mortifying him with their jeſts. This general, ſays one, would perpetuate his command, and be a new king of kings, like Agamemnon: I aſſure you, replies another, we ſhall not eat any Tuſculum figs this year. A few encounters in which he had ſucceeded, quite intoxicated the heads of this ſenatorial

* See Plutarch's life of Pompey.

hoſt; and Pompey, to avoid cenſure, gave into an indiſcretion which poſterity will ever blame; he reſolved to ſacrifice all the advantages he had then obtained, and marched at the head of undiſciplined troops to engage an army that had been ſo frequently victorious.

When the ſhattered remains of Pharſalia were withdrawn into Africa, Scipio, who then commanded them, refuſed to follow Cato's advice for protracting the war. He grew elated with a few inſtances of ſucceſs; he riſked all, and immediately loſt all he had riſked; and when Brutus and Caſſius re-eſtabliſhed that party, the ſame precipitation deſtroyed the republic a third time *.

It is obſervable, that in the long courſe of theſe civil wars, the power of Rome was continually extending in foreign parts, under Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæſar, Antony, and Auguſtus; and that mighty city, growing daily more formidable, completed the deſtruction of all the kings who preſumed to reſiſt her.

No ſtate threatens its neighbours with conqueſt ſo much as that which is involved in the horrors of civil war: In ſuch a ſeaſon, the nobility, the citizens, the artiſans, the peaſants, and, in ſhort, the whole body of the people become ſoldiers; and when peace has united

* This is well cleared up in Appian's hiſtory of the civil war, lib. iv. The army of Octavius and Antony would have periſhed by famine, if their enemies had not given them battle.

all

all the contending parties, this ſtate enjoys great advantages over others, whoſe ſubjects are generally citizens. Beſides, civil wars always produce great men, becauſe, in the univerſal confuſion which then reigns, thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by any particular merit, have a favourable opportunity of making themſelves conſpicuous: Each of theſe perſons ranges himſelf in a ſuitable ſituation; whereas, in times of peace, they are ſtationed by others, and generally very injudiciouſly. We ſhall paſs from the Romans, and inquire for inſtances of this truth, in nations that are more modern; and among theſe, France was never ſo formidable abroad, as after the contentions between the houſes of Burgundy and Orleans, after the troubles of the league, after the civil wars in the minority of Lewis the thirteenth, and after the national diſſenſions in the nonage of Lewis the fourteenth. England was never ſo much reſpected as in the time of Cromwell, after the wars of the long parliament. The Germans did not gain their ſuperiority over the Turks, till after the civil wars of the empire. The Spaniards, under Philip the fifth, and immediately after the civil wars that were kindled by the ſucceſſion, invaded Sicily with ſuch a force as aſtoniſhed all Europe; and we now ſee the Perſians riſing from the aſhes of a civil war, and humbling the Ottoman power.

In a word, the republic was at laſt enſlaved, and we are not to charge that calamity on

the ambition of particular perſons, but ſhould rather impute it to the diſpoſition of man in general, whoſe cravings after power are always moſt inſatiable, when he enjoys the greateſt ſhare, and who only deſires the whole, becauſe he poſſeſſes a large part.

If the ſentiments of Cæſar and Pompey had reſembled thoſe of Cato, others would have had the ſame ambitious thoughts as Pompey and Cæſar diſcovered; and ſince the republic was fated to fall, it would have been dragged to the precipice by ſome other hand.

Cæſar pardoned ever mortal; but the moderation people diſcover when they have uſurped all, ſeems to be no extraordinary accompliſhment.

Though he has been much commended for being indefatigable, after the battle of Pharſalia, yet Cicero, very juſtly, accuſes him of remiſſneſs. He tells Caſſius * they never could have imagined Pompey's party would have revived ſo conſiderably in Spain and Africa; and that if they could have foreſeen that Cæſar would have amuſed himſelf in his Alexandrian war, they would not have made their peace with him as they did, but would have followed Scipio and Cato into Africa. And thus a weak paſſion for a woman made him engage in four wars, and by not foreſeeing the two laſt, he hazarded all he had gained at Pharſalia.

* Familiar letters, lib. xv.

Cæſar

Cæſar governed at firſt under the uſual titles of magiſtracy, for nothing affects mankind more than names; and as the Aſiatics abhorred thoſe of conſul and proconſul, the Europeans deteſted that of king; ſo that thoſe titles conſtituted at that time, the happineſs or deſpair of all the earth. He made ſome overtures to have the diadem placed on his head; but when he grew ſenſible that the people diſcontinued their acclamations, he thought fit to reject it. He likewiſe made other attempts *, and it is not to be comprehended, how he could believe that the Romans, in order to ſuffer him to be a tyrant, ſhould for that reaſon be in love with tyranny, or could even give credit to what they themſelves had done.

One day, when the ſenate tendered him ſome particular honours, he neglected to riſe from his ſeat, and from that moment, the graveſt members of that body loſt all patience.

Mankind are always moſt offended at any treſpaſs on the ceremonials and punctilios they expect. If you endeavour to oppreſs them, it ſometimes paſſes for a proof of the eſteem you entertain for them, but a violation of their decorums is always an inſtance of contempt.

Cæſar, who was a conſtant enemy to the ſenate, could not conceal the mean opinion he entertained of that body, who had almoſt rendered themſelves ridiculous, when they were

* He aboliſhed the office of tribunes of the people.

no longer in poſſeſſion of power: For which reaſon even his clemency was an inſult, and it became evident that he only pardoned becauſe he ſcorned to puniſh.

Cæſar formed the edicts of the ſenate himſelf, and ſubſcribed them with the names of the firſt ſenators he happened to think on. Cicero, in the ninth book of his Familiar Letters, writes to this effect: "I have been ſometimes informed, that an edict of the ſenate paſſed "by my conſent, has been tranſmitted to Syria "and Armenia, before I had any knowlege "that it was made; and ſeveral princes have "ſent me letters of acknowlegement for my "conſent, to allow them the title of kings, "when, at the ſame time, I was ſo far from "knowing them to be kings till that moment, "that I even had not heard there were any "ſuch perſons in the world."

We may ſee, in the letters * of ſome great men of that time, though they paſſed under Cicero's name, becauſe moſt of them were written by himſelf, into what dejection and deſpair perſons of the firſt rank in the republic were ſunk by this ſudden revolution, which diveſted them of their honours, and even their employments; when the ſenate, having no longer any functions to perform, that reputation they had acquired through all the world, was now to be diſpenſed from the cabinet of

* See the letters of Cicero and Servius Sulpicius.

one

one man. This ſtate of affairs appears in a much better light in thoſe letters, than in any relations of hiſtorians; and they are the moſt maſterly repreſentation of the ingenuous turn of mind of a ſet of people united by a common affliction, and give us a complete portrait of an age wherein a falſe politeneſs had not infected all ſociety with inſincerity and untruth. In a word, they are not written, like our modern letters, with a view to deceive, but are the faithful intercourſe of friends, who communicated all they knew.

It was hardly poſſible for Cæſar, in his ſituation, to preſerve his life: The generality of the conſpirators againſt him, were of his party *, or had received many great obligations from him, and the reaſon of their intention to aſſaſſinate him, is very natural; they had gained ſignal advantages by his conqueſt, but the more their fortune improved, the greater was their ſhare of the common calamity, and to thoſe who have not any thing they can properly call their own, it ſeems, in ſome particulars, to be of little conſequence under what government they live.

Beſides, there was a certain law of nations, or a ſettled opinion which prevailed in all the republics of Greece and Italy, and aſcribed the

* Decimus Brutus, Caius Caſca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minutius, Baſillus, were Cæſar's friends. Appian. De bello civili, lib. ii.

character

character of a virtuous man to the perſon who ſhould aſſaſſinate any one who had uſurped the ſovereign power. Rome had been extremely fond of this notion, ever ſince the expulſion of her kings; the law was very expreſs; the examples had a general approbation; the republic put a ſword into the hand of every citizen, conſtituted him their magiſtrate for a few moments, and acknowleged him for their defender.

Brutus * was bold enough to tell his friends, that, ſhould his own father return from the grave, he would ſacrifice him to the public good, with as little remorſe as he ſtabbed Cæſar; and though, by the continuance of tyranny, this ſurprizing ſpirit of liberty had gradually loſt its vigor, yet the conſpiracies, at the beginning of Auguſtus's reign, were perpetually reviving.

The ancient Romans were animated by a predominant love for their country, which, acting by a variation from the common ideas of crimes and virtues, was only attentive to its own dictates, and in the fervors of its operation entirely diſregarded friends and citizens, fathers and benefactors. Virtue ſeemed to have forgotten her own precepts with a reſolution to ſurpaſs herſelf, and when an action ſeemed too ſevere to be immediately conſidered with approbation, ſhe ſoon cauſed it to be admired as divine.

* See the letter of Brutus, in the collection of Cicero's letters.

In

In a word, did not the guilt of Cæſar, who lived in a free government, conſiſt in placing himſelf out of the reach of all puniſhments but an aſſaſſination? And when we aſk why he was not oppoſed by open force, or the power of the laws, do we not at the ſame time demand ſatisfaction for his crimes?

CHAP. XII.

Obſervations on the State of Rome after the Death of Cæſar.

SO impoſſible was it for the republic to accompliſh its re-eſtabliſhment, that a conjuncture then happened which was never known before; there was no longer any tyrant, and yet liberty was extinguiſhed; for the cauſes which had contributed to its deſtruction, ſtill ſubſiſted to prevent its revival.

The aſſaſſins had only formed the plan of a conſpiracy, but had not taken any meaſures to render it effectual in the event.

When they had ſtruck the blow, they all retired to the Capitol; the ſenate forbore to aſſemble, and the next day Lepidus, who was fond of commotions, took poſſeſſion of the Forum, with a band of ſoldiers at his devotion.

The veteran troops, who were apprehenſive that the immenſe donations they had received, would be no longer repeated, had marched into Rome: This proceeding compelled the ſenate

to approve all the acts of Cæſar, and then, by a faculty of reconciling extremes, they granted a general amneſty to the conſpirators, which produced a falſe appearance of peace.

Cæſar, a little before his death, whilſt he was preparing for his expedition againſt the Parthians, had appointed magiſtrates for ſeveral years, that he might ſecure himſelf a ſet of men who, in his abſence, would maintain the tranquillity of his government; ſo that, after his death, the party who had eſpouſed his intereſt, were in a condition to ſupport themſelves for a conſiderable time.

As the ſenate had ratified all the acts of Cæſar without any reſtriction, and as the conſuls were intruſted with the execution of them, Antony, who was then one of thoſe magiſtrates, got poſſeſſion of Cæſar's book of accounts, gained upon his ſecretary, and made him inſert, in that book, all the articles he thought proper, by which means the dictator reigned more imperiouſly than when he was living; for what he could never have accompliſhed, Antony had the dexterity to effect; great ſums of money, which Cæſar would never have beſtowed, were diſtributed among the people by Antony, and every man who had any ſeditious deſigns againſt the government, were ſure to find a ſudden gratuity in Cæſar's books.

It unfortunately happened that Cæſar, to make his expedition effectual, had amaſſed prodigious ſums, and depoſited them in the temple of

of Ops; Antony diſpoſed of theſe as he thought fit, by the expedient of his book.

The conſpirators had, at firſt, determined to caſt the body of Cæſar into the Tyber *, and might have executed that deſign without any interruption; for in thoſe ſeaſons of aſtoniſhment which ſucceed unexpected events, every intention becomes practicable: This however did not take effect, and we ſhall now relate what happened on that occaſion.

The ſenate thought themſelves under a neceſſity of permitting Cæſar's funeral obſequies to be performed; and indeed they could not decently forbid them, as they had never declared him a tyrant. Now the Romans, in conformity to a cuſtom eſtabliſhed among them, and much boaſted of by Polybius, always carried, in their funeral proceſſions, the images which repreſented the anceſtors of the deceaſed, and made an oration over the body. Antony, who charged himſelf with this laſt province, unfolded the bloody robe of Cæſar to the view of all the people, read to them the particulars of his will, in which he had left them extraordinary legacies, and then wrought them into ſuch violent emotions, that they immediately fired the houſes of the conſpirators.

* That action would not have been unprecedented; for when Tiberius Gracchus was ſlain, Lucretius the edile, who was afterwards called Veſpillo, threw his body into the Tyber. Aurel. Victor. de viris illuſt.

Cicero,

Cicero, who governed the ſenate in this whole affair *, makes no ſcruple to acknowlege that it would have been much better to have proceeded with vigour, and even to have expoſed themſelves to deſtruction, though indeed it was not probable that ſuch a fate would have attended them; but he alleges for his excuſe, that as the ſenate was then aſſembled, they had no opportunity in their favour; and he adds, that thoſe who are ſenſible of the importance even of a moment, in affairs wherein the people have ſo conſiderable a part, will not be ſurprized at his conduct in that tranſaction.

Another accident happened at this time: when the people were celebrating funeral games in honour of Cæſar, a comet, with long flaming hair, appeared for the ſpace of ſeven days, which made them believe the ſoul of Cæſar was received into heaven.

It was very cuſtomary for the people of Greece and Aſia, to erect temples † to the kings, and even the proconſuls who had governed them; and they were indulged in this practice, becauſe it was the greateſt evidence they could poſſible give of their abject ſervitude. Nay the Romans themſelves might, in their private temples, were their Lares were depoſited, render divine honours to their anceſtors; but I cannot remember, that from the time of Ro-

* Letters to Atticus, lib. xiv. c. 6.

† See more on this ſubject, in the letters of Cicero to Atticus, lib. v. and the remark of the abbé de Mongaut.

mulus

mulus to Julius Cæſar, any Roman * was ever ranked among the gods of the republic.

The government of Macedonia was aſſigned to Antony, but he was deſirous of changing it for that of Gaul, and the motives which ſo induced him are very evident: Decimus Brutus, who governed Ciſalpine Gaul, having refuſed to reſign that province to Antony, he was reſolved to deprive him of it by force. This produced a civil war, in which the ſenate declared Antony an enemy to his country.

Cicero, to accompliſh the deſtruction of Antony his mortal enemy, was ſo injudicious as to employ all his intereſt for the promotion of Octavius, and inſtead of defacing the idea of one Cæſar in the minds of the people, he placed two before their eyes.

Octavius, in his conduct to Cicero, acted like a man who knew the world; he flattered, he praiſed, he conſulted him, and employed every engaging artifice, which vanity never diſtruſts.

Great affairs are frequently diſconcerted, becauſe thoſe who undertake them ſeldom confine their expectations to the principal event, but look after ſome little particular ſucceſs which ſooths the indulgent opinion they entertain of themſelves.

* Dion. relates that the Triumviri, who all expected the ſame deification, took all imaginable care to enlarge the honours paid to Cæſar.

I am inclined to think, that, if Cato had reſerved himſelf for the republic, he would have given a very different turn to affairs. Cicero had extraordinary abilities for the ſecond claſs, but was incapable of the firſt. His genius was fine, but his ſoul ſeldom ſoared above the vulgar. His characteriſtic was virtue; that of Cato glory *. Cicero always beheld himſelf in the firſt rank; Cato never allowed his merit a place in his remembrance. This man would have preſerved the republic for his own ſake; the other, that he might have boaſted of the action.

I might carry on the parallel by adding, that when Cato foreſaw, Cicero was intimidated; and when the former hoped, the latter was confident: Cato beheld things through a ſerene medium; Cicero viewed them through a glare of little paſſions.

Antony was defeated at Modena, where the two conſuls, Hirtius and Panſa, loſt their lives: The ſenate, who thought themſelves ſuperior to their tumultuous affairs, began to think of humbling Octavius, who now ceaſed his hoſtilities againſt Antony, marched his army to Rome, and cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul.

In this manner did Cicero, who boaſted that his robe had cruſhed the arms of Antony, introduce an enemy into the republic, the more

* *Eſſe quam videri bonus malebat: itaque quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illam aſſequebatur.* Salluſt. bell. Catil.

formidable,

ormidable, becauſe his name was much dearer to the people, and his pretenſions, to all appearance, better founded *.

Antony, after his overthrow, retired into Tranſalpine Gaul, where he was received by Lepidus. Theſe two men entered into an aſſociation with Octavius, and gave up to each other the lives of their friends and their enemies †. Lepidus continued at Rome, whilſt the other two went in queſt of Brutus and Caſſius, and found them in thoſe parts where the empire of the world was thrice contended for in battle.

Brutus and Caſſius killed themſelves with a precipitation not to be vindicated; and it is impoſſible to read this period of their lives, without pitying the republic which was ſo abandoned: Cato cloſed the tragedy with his own murder; and theſe, in ſome meaſure, opened it with theirs.

Several reaſons may be aſſigned for this cuſtom of ſelf-deſtruction, which ſo generally prevailed among the Romans; the progreſs of Stoiciſm which encouraged it; the eſtabliſhment of triumphs and ſlavery, which induced ſeveral great men to believe they ought not to ſurvive a defeat; the advantages accruing to the accuſed, who put an end to life rather

* He was Cæſar's heir, and his ſon by adoption.

† So inveterate was their cruelty, that they commanded every individual among the people to rejoice at the proſcriptions on pain of death. Dion.

than ſubmit to a tribunal, which condemned their memory to infamy *, and their goods to confiſcation; a point of honour, more rational perhaps, than that which now prompts us to ſtab our friend for a geſture or an expreſſion; in a word, the convenience † of heroiſm, which gave every one the liberty of finiſhing his part on the ſtage of the world, in what ſcene he pleaſed.

We might add, the great facility of putting ſuch a principle in execution: The ſoul all attentive to the action ſhe is preparing to commit, to the motives which determines her reſolution, to the dangers ſhe avoids by it, does not properly behold death, becauſe paſſion makes itſelf felt, but always blinds the eyes.

Self-love, and a fondneſs for our preſervation, changes itſelf into ſo many ſhapes, and acts by ſuch contrary principles, that it leads us to ſacrifice our exiſtence for the very ſake of exiſtence; and ſuch is the eſtimate we make of ourſelves, that we conſent to die by a natural and obſcure ſort of inſtinct, which makes us love ourſelves even more than our lives.

It is certain that we are become leſs free, leſs couragious, and leſs capable of grand en-

* *Eorum qui de ſe ſtatuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant teſtamenta; pretium feſtinandi.* Tac. An. vi.

† If Charles I. and James II. had been educated in a religion which would have permitted them to deſtroy themſelves, the one would not have ſubmitted to ſuch a death, nor the other to ſuch a life.

terprizes

terprizes than they were formerly, by this love of ourſelves.

CHAP. XIII.

AUGUSTUS.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS poſſeſſed Sicily and Sardinia, was maſter at ſea, and ſaw himſelf at the head of a great multitude of fugitives, and perſons devoted to death by proſcriptions, whoſe laſt hopes depended on their valour. Octavius contended with him, in two very laborious wars; and, after a variety of ill ſucceſs, vanquiſhed him by the abilities of Agrippa.

Moſt of the conſpirators ended their lives in a miſerable manner; and it was natural that perſons who headed a party, ſo frequently haraſſed by wars, in which no quarter was afforded, ſhould die a violent death. That event was however interpreted into a conſequence of divine vengeance, which puniſhed the murderers of Cæſar, and in its turn proſcribed their cauſe.

Octavius gained over the ſoldiers of Lepidus to his own intereſt, and diveſted him of his power in the triumvirate; he even envied him the conſolation of paſſing the remainder of his days in obſcurity, and compelled him to appear as a private man in the aſſemblies of the people.

It is impoſſible for any one to be diſpleaſed at the humiliation of this Lepidus; he was the moſt depraved citizen in all the republic, a conſtant promoter of diſturbances, and one who perpetually formed fatal ſchemes, wherein he was obliged to aſſociate with people of more ability than himſelf. A modern author * has thought fit to be large in his commendation, and cites Antony, who, in one of his letters, repreſents him as an honeſt man. But he, who had that character from Antony, could not have much title to it from other perſons.

I believe Octavius is the only man of all the Roman generals, who ever gained the affections of the ſoldiers by giving them perpetual inſtances of a natural timidity of ſpirit. The ſoldiers, at that time, were more affected with the liberality of their commanders than their valour; perhaps it was even fortunate for him that he was not maſter of any qualities which could procure him the empire, and that his very incapacity ſhould be the cauſe of his promotion to it, ſince it made him the leſs dreaded. It is not impoſſible that the defects which threw the greateſt diſhonour on his character, were the moſt propitious to his fortune. If he had diſcovered, at firſt, any traces of an exalted ſoul, all mankind would have been jealous of his abilities; and if he had been

* The abbé de St. Real.

ſpirited

ſpirited by any true bravery, he would not have given Antony time to launch into all the extravagancies which proved his ruin.

When Antony was preparing to march againſt Octavius, he aſſured his ſoldiers, by a ſolemn oath, that he would reſtore the republic; which makes it evident, that even They were jealous of the liberty of their country, though they were the perpetual inſtruments of its deſtruction; for an army is the blindeſt and moſt inconſiderate ſet of people in the world.

The battle of Actium was fought, Cleopatra fled, and drew Antony after her. It evidently appeared by the circumſtances of her future conduct, that ſhe afterwards betrayed him *; perhaps that incomprehenſible ſpirit of coquetry ſo predominant in her ſex, tempted her to practice all her arts to lay a third ſovereign of the world at her feet.

A woman, to whom Antony had ſacrificed the whole world, betrayed him; many captains and kings, whom he had raiſed or made, failed him; and, as if generoſity were connected with ſervitude, a company of gladiators remained heroically faithful to him. Load a man with benefits, the firſt idea you inſpire him with, is to find ways to preſerve them; they are new intereſts which you give him to defend.

* Dion. lib. i.

The moſt ſurprizing circumſtance in thoſe wars is, that one battle ſhould generally decide the difference, and that one defeat ſhould be irreparable.

The Roman ſoldiers were not, properly, under the prevalence of any party ſpirit; they did not fight for any particular acquiſition, but for ſome particular perſon; they only knew their commander, who engaged their ſervice by prodigious hopes; but when he was once defeated, and conſequently no longer in a condition to accompliſh his promiſes, they immediately revolted to the other ſide. The provinces did not embark in the quarrel with any greater ſincerity, for it was of little conſequence to them, whether the ſenate or the people prevailed; and therefore, when one of the generals loſt the day, they declared for the other; for every city was obliged to juſtify itſelf before the conqueror, who having engaged himſelf to the ſoldiery by immenſe promiſes, was conſtrained to ſacrifice to their avidity thoſe countries which were moſt obnoxious.

We have been afflicted, in France, with two ſorts of civil war; one had religion for its pretext, and was of long duration, becauſe the motive which firſt inflamed it continued to ſubſiſt after victory; the other could not properly be ſaid to have any motive, but was rather kindled by the caprice or ambition of ſome great men, and was ſoon extinguiſhed.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus (for that was the name offered by flattery to Octavius) was careful to eſtabliſh order, or rather a durable ſervitude; for when once the ſovereignty has been uſurped in a free ſtate, every tranſaction, on which an unlimited authority can be founded, is called a regulation; and all inſtances of diſorder, commotion, and bad government, are repreſented as the only expedients to preſerve the juſt liberty of the ſubject.

All the Roman citizens who were ever actuated by ambitious views, have attempted to introduce a kind of anarchy in the republic; and Pompey, Craſſus, and Cæſar ſucceeded to a miracle; they authorized an impunity for all public crimes, and aboliſhed very inſtitution calculated to prevent the corruption of manners, and every regulation accommodated to the beſt politics; and as good legiſlators endeavour to improve their fellow citizens, theſe, on the contrary, were indefatigable to lead them into a degeneracy from every virtue. With this view they gave a ſanction to the pernicious cuſtom of corrupting the people by money, and when any perſons were accuſed of undue practices for obtaining places of truſt, the delinquents corrupted the judges who were to decide the cauſe. They interrupted the elections by every violent proceeding, and even intimidated the tribunal itſelf. The authority of the people was reduced to annihilation, witneſs Gabinius,

Gabinius *, who, after he had reinſtated Ptolemy, by force of arms, on his throne, contrary to the inclinations of the people, very coldly demanded a triumph.

Theſe leading men in the republic endeavoured to make the people diſguſted at their own power, and to become neceſſary themſelves, by rendering the inconveniencies of a republican government as diſagreeable as poſſible. But when Auguſtus had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the ſupremacy, his politics were employed to reſtore order, that the people might he ſenſible of the happineſs of being ruled by one man.

When Auguſtus was at the head of an armed power, he dreaded the revolt of his ſoldiers, and not the conſpiracies of the citizens; for which reaſon he laviſhed all his careſſes on the former, and was altogether inhuman to the latter: But when his arms had accompliſhed a peace, he was apprehenſive of conſpiracies, and the idea of Cæſar's untimely death being always preſent to his remembrance, he reſolved to vary from his conduct that he might avoid his fate. We ſhall now give the reader a complete key to the whole life of Auguſtus: He wore a coat of mail, under his robe, in the ſenate houſe;

* Cæſar made war with the Gauls, and Craſſus with the Parthians, without any previous deliberation of the ſenate, or any decree of the people. Dion.

he

he refuſed the title of dictator: and whereas Cæſar inſolently affirmed the republic to be nothing, and that his word alone were the laws, Auguſtus was perpetually expatiating on the dignity of the ſenate and his veneration for the republic. He was ſolicitous therefore to eſtabliſh ſuch a form of government as ſhould be moſt ſatisfactory, without incommoding his particular intereſt, and changing it into an ariſtocraſy with relation to the civil, and into a monarchy with reſpect to the military adminiſtration; rendering it by theſe means an ambiguous ſyſtem of government, which, being unſupported by its own power, could ſubſiſt no longer than the ſovereign pleaſed; and conſequently was a monarchy in all its circumſtances.

A queſtion has been ſtarted, whether Auguſtus had a real inclination to diveſt himſelf of the empire. But is it not apparent, that, had he been in earneſt, he might eaſily have effected his deſign? But his whole proceeding, in that affair, was a mere artifice; becauſe, though he expreſſed a deſire every ten years, to be eaſed of the mighty load that encumbered him, yet he always thought fit bear in. Theſe were little refinements of low cunning, calculated to induce the people to give him what, in his opinion, he had not ſufficiently acquired. I form my thoughts in this particular, by the whole life of Auguſtus; and though mankind are frequently fanciful and inconſiſtent, they

are

are ſeldom known to renounce, in one moment, any enjoyment that has engaged the attention of all their life. Every action of Auguſtus, and each of his various regulations, viſibly tended to the eſtabliſhment of monarchy. Sylla reſigned the dictatorſhip, but, amidſt all his violent proceedings, a republican ſpirit is apparent in every part of his conduct; all his regulations, though executed with a tyrannical air, had an aſpect to ſome certain from of a commonwealth. Sylla, who was a man of an impetuous temper, precipitated the Romans into liberty. Auguſtus, who was a ſmooth and ſubtile tyrant *, led them gently into ſlavery. When the republic regained its power, under Sylla, all the people exclaimed againſt tyranny; and whilſt this became fortified, under Auguſtus, liberty was the general boaſt.

The cuſtom of triumphs, which had ſo much contributed to the greatneſs of Rome, was aboliſhed by Auguſtus, or, more properly, this honour became the prerogative of ſovereignty †. The greateſt part of thoſe cuſ-

* I uſe this word in the ſenſe of the Greeks and Romans, who gave this name to all thoſe who had ſubverted a democracy, for in all other particulars Auguſtus was a lawful prince, after the law enacted by the people: *Lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata eſt, Populus ei & in eum omne imperium tranſtulit.* Inſtit. lib. i.

† Triumphal ornaments were all the honours now granted to any particular general. Dion. in Aug.

toms

toms which prevailed under the emperors, derived their origin from the republic *; and it will be proper to bring them together, that the ſimilitude may be more apparent. That perſon alone under whoſe auſpices a war had been conducted, was intitled to demand a triumph †: Now wars were always carried on under the auſpices of the generaliſſimo, and conſequently of the emperor, who was the generaliſſimo of all the forces.

As conſtant war was the reigning principle of the republic, the maxim under the emperors was altogether pacific. Victories were conſidered as ſo many opportunities of introducing diſorder by armies, who might fix too great a valuation on their ſervices.

Thoſe who were advanced to any command were apprehenſive of engaging in enterpriſes of too great importance; they found it neceſſary to aim at glory with moderation, and were to engage the emperor's notice, and not raiſe his

* The Romans having changed their government, without ſuſtaining any invaſion from an enemy, the ſame cuſtoms continued as were practiſed before the alteration of the government, the form of which ſtill remained though the eſſentials were deſtroyed.

† Dion. in Aug. lib. liv. acquaints us that Agrippa neglected, out of modeſty, to give the ſenate an account of his expedition againſt the people of the Boſphorus, and even refuſed a triumph; ſince which time it was not granted to any perſon of his claſs; but it was a favour Auguſtus intended to afford Agrippa, though Antony would not allow it to Ventidius, the firſt time he conquered the Parthians.

jealouſy;

jealouſy; in a word, they were not to appear before him with a luſtre which his eyes could not bear.

Auguſtus was very cautious * of inveſting any one with the rights of a Roman citizen; he made laws † to prevent the enfranchiſement of too many ſlaves ‡, and by his will recommended the obſervation of theſe two maxims, with a diſſuaſive againſt extending the empire by new wars.

Theſe three particulars were very well connected; for when all war was diſcontinued, there was no need either of new citizens or enfranchiſements.

When Rome was in a conſtant ſtate of war, ſhe was under a perpetual neceſſity of recruiting her inhabitants. At the beginning, part of the people were tranſplanted thither from the conquered cities, and in proceſs of time ſeveral citizens of the neighbouring towns came to Rome to obtain a ſhare in the rights of ſuffrage, and eſtabliſhed themſelves there in ſuch numbers, that, upon the complaints of the allies, the Romans were obliged to remand them back. Multitudes at laſt arrived from the provinces; the laws favoured marriages, and even rendered them neceſſary. Rome, in all her wars, gained a prodigious number of ſlaves, and when the riches of the citizens became

* Sueton. in Auguſt.
† Juſtin. Inſtitut. lib. i. & Suet. in Aug.
‡ Dion. in Aug.

immenſe

immenſe, they bought theſe unhappy people from all parts, and, from a principle of generoſity, avarice, or ambition, enfranchiſed them without number *. Some intended by this proceeding to reward the fidelity of their ſlaves; others had a view by it to receive, in their name, the corn which the republic diſtributed among the poor citizens. In a word, others deſired to have their funeral ſolemnity graced with a long train of attendance crowned with flowers. The people were generally compoſed of perſons † who had received their freedom, ſo that the lords of the univerſe, not only in their original, but through the greateſt part of ſucceeding times, were of ſervile extraction.

The number of the populace being chiefly collected out of ſlaves who had been enfranchiſed, or the ſons of ſuch, became very incommodious, and were therefore tranſplanted in colonies; by which means the ſtate effectually ſecured the obedience of the provinces. There was a general circulation of mankind through the world. Rome received them in the ſtate of ſlaves, and ſent them away Romans.

Auguſtus, under the pretence of ſome tumults in the elections, placed a garriſon and a governor in the city, made the legions perpetual, ſtationed them upon the frontiers, and eſtabliſhed particular funds for their pay. To which we

* Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib. iv.
† See Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii.

may

may add, that he gave orders for the veterans to receive their donations in money *, and not in lands.

Many unhappy conſequences reſulted from the diſtribution of land after the time of Sylla. The citizens property in their eſtates grew precarious, and if all the ſoldiers of one cohort were not ſettled in the ſame place, they became diſſatisfied with their allotments, neglected the cultivation of their lands, and degenerated into dangerous citizens †. But if they were diſtributed in entire legions, the ambitious could raiſe armies againſt the republic in a moment.

Auguſtus likewiſe eſtabliſhed fixed proviſions for the naval power, which was never done before his time; for as the Romans were maſters of the Mediterranean, and as all navigation was then confined to that ſea, they had not any enemy to fear.

Dion obſerves, very judiciouſly, that after the emperors had aſſumed the ſovereign power, it became very difficult to write the hiſtory of thoſe times. All tranſactions were induſtriouſly concealed, the diſpatches from the provinces were tranſmitted to the cabinets of the emperors, and we know little more than what either the folly or raſhneſs of tyrants divulged, or ſuch events as fall within the conjectures of hiſtorians.

* He ordered that the prætorian ſoldiers ſhould have five thouſand drachmas a piece after ſixteen years ſervice, and the others three thouſand drachmas after twenty years. Dion. in Aug.

† See Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.
TIBERIUS.

AS a river, ſometimes, with a ſlow and ſilent progreſs, undermines the banks that have been thrown up to reſtrain its current, and at laſt overwhelms them in a moment, and ſheds an inundation over the fields they formerly preſerved; in the ſame manner, the ſupreme authority, which gained an inſenſible growth under Auguſtus, bore down all before it in the ſucceeding reign of Tiberius.

A law at that time ſubſiſted, which made it treaſon to form any injurious attempt againſt the majeſty of the people: Tiberius aſſumed to himſelf the interpretation and enforcement of this law, and extended it not only to the caſes for which it was originally calculated, but to every conjuncture that could poſſibly be favourable to his hatred or ſuſpicions. And now, not only actions, but words and ſigns, and even thoughts were adjudged by this ſtandard; for thoſe expreſſions which drop from the overflowing of the heart, in the converſation of intimate friends, are always ſuppoſed to be their real ſentiments. All freedom was therefore baniſhed from their feaſts, diffidence reigned among relations, there was no fidelity among the ſlaves: the gloomy diſpoſition and inſincerity of the prince were diffuſed through all ranks of men; friendſhip had the diſrepute of a dangerous

quickſand; a fine genius paſſed for a ſhining indiſcretion, and virtue itſelf was only conſidered as an affectation, which officiouſly reminded the people of their loſt happineſs.

No tyranny can have a ſeverer effect than that which is exerciſed under the appearance of laws, and with the plauſible colours of juſtice; when the executors of cruel power would, if we may uſe the expreſſion, drown the unhappy wretches on the very plank that before ſaved them amidſt the troubled waves.

As a tyrant is never deſtitute of inſtruments to accompliſh his deſigns, ſo Tiberius always found the ſenate tractable enough to condemn * as many perſons as he could poſſibly ſuſpect; and this venerable body ſunk at laſt into a degeneracy too low to be deſcribed. The ſenators even courted ſervitude, to gain the favour of Sejanus; and the moſt illuſtrious among them abandoned themſelves to the diſhonourable profeſſion of informers.

It ſeems eaſy to diſcover ſeveral cauſes of that ſlaviſh diſpoſition, which then prevailed in the ſenate. When Cæſar had entirely cruſhed the party who declared for the republic, all the friends, as well as enemies he then had in the ſenate, concurred with equal unanimity, to remove the bounds with which the laws had limited his power, and at the ſame time they

* Before the time of the emperors, the ſenate confined their attention to public affairs, and never decided the cauſes of private perſons in a full body.

agreed to render him unparalleled honours; ſome came into theſe compliances with a view to pleaſe him, others intended by ſuch means to make him odious. Dion informs us, that ſome even propoſed that he might have the liberty to enjoy as many women as he ſhould deſire. This obſequious conduct freed him from all ſuſpicions of the ſenate, and conſequently was the cauſe of his aſſaſſination; but then it prevented in the ſucceeding reigns, all flattery from riſing to ſuch wild and unexampled heights as might have created diſaffection in the minds of the people.

Before Rome ſubmitted to the dominion of one man, the riches of the nobility, in what manner ſoever acquired, were certainly immenſe, but thoſe grandees were diveſted of the greateſt part of their treaſures by the emperors *. The ſenators were no longer reſorted to by thoſe great and wealthy clients, who were the ſources of their patrons affluence. The provinces produced nothing conſiderable, except for Cæſar; and eſpecially when they were under the government of his præfects, whoſe office had ſome reſemblance to that of the intendants in France. However, though the fountain from whence all this oppulence flowed was at laſt exhauſted, the expences were continued in their former profuſion, and the track being once marked out,

* The great men were impoveriſhed even in the time of Auguſtus, and no longer ſollicited for the office of ædile, or tribune of the people; and many of them had not any inclination to have a ſeat among the ſenators.

the men of rank could only purſue it now, by the emperor's favour.

Auguſtus had deprived the people of their legiſlative capacity, and aboliſhed all their juriſdiction with reſpect to public offences; but he ſtill left them the power of electing magiſtrates. TIBERIUS, who dreaded the aſſemblies of a people ſo numerous, diveſted them even of this privilege, and transferred it to the ſenate *, or rather to himſelf. Now it is impoſſible to conceive the abject lowneſs to which the declenſion of the people's power ſunk the ſpirits of the grandees: when dignities were in the diſpoſal of the populace, the magiſtrates, who ſollicited their intereſt, practiſed a number of mean condeſcenſions; but theſe were intermixed with a certain magnificence that in ſome meaſure concealed them: for inſtance, they exhibited pompous games and recreations, they diſtributed ſums of money, and quantities of corn among the people, and ſometimes regaled them with ſplendid feaſts. But though the motive was low, the manner ſeemed auguſt, becauſe it always comports with a great man to obtain the favour of the people by liberality; but when that people had nothing to beſtow, and the prince, in the name of the ſenate, diſpoſed of all employments, they were deſired as well as obtained in a diſhonourable manner, and could only be compaſſed by adulation, infamy, and a hateful train

* Tacit. Annal. lib i. Dion lib. liv. They were afterwards re-eſtabliſhed, and then diſannulled by Caligula.

of

of crimes, that were made neceſſary arts by the iniquity of the age.

It does not indeed appear that Tiberius had any intention to make the ſenate contemptible; and he complained of nothing ſo much, as the propenſity of that body to ſlavery. His life was filled with diſſatisfactions on that account, but he reſembled the generality of mankind, and was fond of contradictory enjoyments. His general politics were inconſiſtent with his particular paſſions; he would willingly have ſeen a free ſenate, who, by their conduct, might have created a veneration for his government; but then he was alſo deſirous of a ſenate who would every moment be tractable to his fears, his jealouſies, and his averſions. In a word, the politician was perpetually ſubordinate to the man.

We have already intimated, that the people had formerly obtained from the patricians the privilege of electing, from their own body, a ſet of magiſtrates, who were to protect them from the inſults and injuſtice that might be intended againſt them; and, in order to capacitate thoſe magiſtrates for the exerciſe of ſuch a power, their perſons were declared ſacred and inviolable, and whoever ſhould preſume to treat a tribune injuriouſly, either by actions or language, was condemned by the law to ſuffer death on the ſpot. Now when the emperors were inveſted with the tribunitial power, they obtained the ſame prerogatives, and it was upon this principle [illegible]ber of people were deprived of

their lives: from this ſource flowed the impunity with which informers flouriſhed in their profeſſion *; and hence it was, that the accuſation of treaſon, that crime, ſays Pliny, which was charged on thoſe to whom no real offence could be imputed, was at laſt extended to any one whom the wantonneſs of tyranny pointed out.

I am inclinable however to believe, that ſome of thoſe titles of accuſation were not ſo ridiculous as they appear at preſent; and can never be perſuaded that Tiberius would have cauſed a man to be accuſed for ſelling to one who bought his houſe, a ſtatue of the emperor; that Domitian ſhould condemn a woman to die for undreſſing herſelf before his image; or that he ſhould proceed with the ſame ſeverity againſt a citizen of Rome, for cauſing a deſcription of all the earth to be delineated on the walls of his apartment; if ſuch actions as theſe had not called up an idea in the minds of the Romans very different from that they now excite in us. For my part I am of opinion, that as Rome had changed the form of its government, thoſe actions which now appear inconſiderable to us, might, when they were committed, have a very different aſpect; and I judge in this manner, from my reflection on what is now cuſtomary in a nation which can-

[* Under the reign of Tiberius, ſtatues were erected to, and triumphant ornaments conferred on informers, which debaſed theſe honours to ſuch a degree, that thoſe who had merited them, diſdained to accept of them. Fragm. of Dio, lib. lviii. L'Eſprit des Loix, lib. viii. c. 7.]

not

not with any juſtice be ſuſpected of tyranny, and yet it is a capital crime there to drink to the health of a certain perſon.

I cannot omit any circumſtance which tends to give a clear repreſentation of the Roman genius. That people were ſo habituated to obedience, and ſo conſtantly placed their happineſs in homaging their maſters, that, after the death of Germanicus, they were affected with ſuch inconſolable ſorrow and deſpair, as never appears in our contemporaries. The deſcriptions given by hiſtorians * of a deſolation, ſo public, ſo univerſal and immoderate, deſerve a reader's curioſity; and it is certain, that this ſcene of grief was not affected, ſince a whole people are never known to practiſe ſo much flattery and diſſimulation.

The Romans, who had now no longer any ſhare in the government, and were chiefly compoſed of perſons who had received their freedom, or ſuch indolent and uninduſtrious people who lived at the expence of the public treaſure, were now ſenſible of nothing but their imbecillity, and afflicted themſelves like children or women, who from a principle of weakneſs abandon themſelves to ſorrow. Theſe people were politically indiſpoſed, they placed all their fears and hopes in the perſon of Germanicus, and when he was ſnatched from them by an untimely death, they ſunk into deſpair.

* See Tacitus.

No people are ſo apprehenſive of calamity as thoſe whom the miſery of their condition ſhould rather diſcharge from all fear, and who ought to ſay with Andromache, *Would to heaven I had any enjoyment I could dread to loſe!* There are at this day, in Naples, fifty thouſand men, who have no food but herbs, and whoſe whole cloathing conſiſts of a few miſerable rags; and yet theſe people, who are the moſt wretched creatures upon earth, diſcover a dreadful conſternation at the leaſt irruption of Veſuvius, and are ſo infatuated as to fear they ſhall be miſerable.

CHAP. XV.

Remarks on the Emperors from Caius Caligula *to* Antoninus.

CALIGULA ſucceeded Tiberius, and it was ſaid of him, that there never was a better ſlave, nor a worſe maſter; and indeed theſe two circumſtances are very conſiſtent; for the ſame turn of mind which inclines a perſon to be ſtrongly affected at unlimited power in his ſovereign, makes him to be no leſs in love with it, when he riſes to empire himſelf.

Caligula reſtored the aſſemblies of the people, which Tiberius had prohibited; and aboliſhed the arbitrary law and conſtructions of treaſon eſtabliſhed by that emperor: from which proceeding we may obſerve, that the beginnings of a bad reign ſometimes reſemble the concluſion of a good one; for a wicked prince may,

may, from a principle of contradiction to the motives of his predeceſſor's conduct, be ſpirited to actions which the other performed from a virtuous inducement; and we owe to this very principle a number of good as well as bad regulations.

But what did the Romans gain by theſe plauſible beginnings? Caligula diſannulled the law which conſtituted the circumſtantials of treaſon; but then he deſtroyed thoſe who diſpleaſed him, by a military ſeverity; and his vengeance, inſtead of pointing at ſome particular ſenators, hung over all their heads, like a ſword that threatened them with extermination at one blow.

This formidable tyranny of the emperors aroſe from the diſpoſition of the Romans in general; who, as they were ſuddenly enſlaved to an arbitrary government, and were hardly ſenſible of any interval between dominion and ſubjection, were not prepared for ſuch a tranſition by any gentle ſoftenings. The fierce and untractable diſpoſition ſtill remained, and the citizens were uſed in the ſame manner they themſelves had treated their conquered enemies, and were governed altogether upon the ſame plan. When Sylla made his public entrance into Rome, he was ſtill the Sylla who had done the ſame in Athens, and he governed with an uniform imperiouſneſs. As to us who are natives of France, and have ſunk into ſubjection,

by

by inſenſible degrees, if we are deſtitute of laws, we are at leaſt governed by engaging manners.

The conſtant view of the combats of gladiators inſpired the Romans with extraordinary fierceneſs; and it was obſervable, that Claudius became more diſpoſed to ſhed blood, by being habituated to thoſe ſpectacles. The example of this emperor, who was naturally of a gentle diſpoſition, and yet degenerated into ſo much cruelty at laſt, makes it evident, that the education in thoſe times, was very different from our own.

The Romans, being accuſtomed to tyrannize over human nature, * in the perſons of their children and ſlaves, had a very imperfect idea of that virtue we diſtinguiſh by the name of humanity. Whence proceeds the ſavage caſt of mind ſo remarkable in the inhabitants of our colonies, but from their conſtant ſeverity to an unfortunate claſs of mankind? When barbarity prevails in civil government, what natural juſtice or harmony of manners can be expected from the individuals?

We are fatigued and ſatiated with ſeeing in the hiſtory of the emperors ſuch an infinite number of people whom they deſtroyed for no other end than to confiſcate their goods: our modern accounts furniſh us with no ſuch inſtances of inhumanity. This difference, as we have already intimated, is to be aſcribed to the

* See the inſtitutes of Juſtinian, where they treat of the power of parents and maſters.

milder

milder caſt of our manners, and the civilizing reſtraints of a more amiable religion. We may likewiſe add, that we have no opportunity of pillaging the families of ſenators who have ravaged the world, and we derive this advantage from the mediocrity of our fortunes, which are conſequently in a ſafer ſituation. In a word, we are not conſiderable enough to be plundered *.

That claſs of the Roman people who were called Plebeians had no averſion to the worſt of their emperors; for ſince they had no longer any ſhare of empire themſelves, nor were any more employed in wars, they became the moſt contemptible and degenerate people in the world; they looked upon commerce and the ſciences as only proper for ſlaves, and the diſtributions of corn which they received, made them neglect the cultivation of their lands: they had been familiarized to public games and ſplendid ſpectacles, and ſince they had no longer any tribunes to obey, or magiſtrates to elect, thoſe gratifications which they were only permitted to enjoy, became neceſſary to them, and their indolence and inactivity ſtimulated their reliſh of thoſe indulgencies.

Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Caracalla, were lamented by the people for their very folly, for

* The duke of Braganza had an immenſe eſtate in Portugal; and when he firſt revolted, the king of Spain was congratulated by his nobility, for the rich confiſcation he was to derive from that event.

what-

whatever theſe loved, the others were as madly fond of, in their turn, and not only contributed their whole power, but even devoted their own perſons to thoſe pleaſures; they laviſhed all the riches of the empire with the greateſt prodigality; and when theſe were exhauſted, the people without the leaſt emotion, beheld all the great families pillaged. They enjoyed the fruits of tyranny, without the leaſt intermixture of uneaſineſs, becauſe their low obſcurity was their protection. Such princes have a natural antipathy to people of merit and virtue, becauſe they are ſenſible their actions are diſapproved by ſuch perſons. The contradiction * and even the ſilence of an auſtere citizen were inſupportable to them; and as they grew intoxicated with popular applauſe, they at laſt imagined their government conſtituted the public felicity, and conſequently that it could be cenſured by none but diſaffected and ill-diſpoſed perſons.

* The Greeks had games in which it was decent to fight, and glorious to conquer: the Romans had little more than ſpectacles; and the infamous gladiators were peculiar to them. But for a great perſon to deſcend into the Arena or mount the ſtage, was what the Roman gravity did not admit of. How ſhould a ſenator ſubmit to it; he, who by the laws could not contract any alliance with men who had been diſgraced by the diſguſts or even the applauſes of the people? Some emperors, however, appeared in theſe places; and this folly, which indicated an extreme irregularity of the heart, a contempt for all that is great, decent, and good, hiſtorians ever brand with the mark of tyranny.

Caligula,

Caligula, was a true ſophiſt in cruelty, for as he equally deſcended from Antony and Auguſtus, he declared he would puniſh the conſuls if they celebrated the day appointed to commemorate the victory at Actium, and that they ſhould likewiſe feel his ſeverity if they neglected to honour that event; and Druſilla, to whom he accorded divine honours, being dead, it was a crime to bewail her becauſe ſhe was a goddeſs, and as great an offence to forbear that ſorrow becauſe ſhe was his ſiſter.

We have now aſcended an eminence from whence we may take a view of human affairs: when we trace, in the Roman hiſtory, ſuch a variety of wars, and their prodigal effuſion of human blood; when we view ſo many once flouriſhing nations depopulated, and ſee ſuch a diverſity of ſhining actions and triumphant proceſſions; when we trace the maſterly ſtrokes of politics, ſagacity, and fortitude, ſo conſpicuous in that people, and reflect on their advances to univerſal monarchy by ſchemes ſo judiciouſly concerted, ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported, and ſo happily accompliſhed; to what view are all theſe mighty preparations directed? Why truly to ſatiate the ambition of five or ſix monſters! Is it poſſible then, that the ſenate could diveſt ſo many kings of their power, only to plunge themſelves into the moſt abject ſlavery to one of their unworthy citizens, and to exterminate itſelf by its own edicts? Did it riſe to ſuch a height of grandeur, to drop more ſplendidly into ruin,

and

and do the ſons of men only labour to augment their power, that they may fall, by their own combinations, into better hands?

When Caligula was aſſaſſinated, the ſenate aſſembled to form a new model of government; and, whilſt they were engaged in ſuch deliberations, a party of ſoldiers ruſhed in to plunder the palace, and found, in ſome obſcure place, a man trembling with fear; this man was Claudius, and they immediately ſaluted him emperor.

Claudius completed the ſubverſion of the ancient form of government, by intruſting the diſpenſation of juſtice to his officers: The principal motive to the wars of Marius and Sylla, was to determine the competition of the ſenators and the equeſtrian * order for this prerogative; and it was now wreſted from both parties by the arbitrary fancy of a weak man. Surprizing event indeed, of a diſpute which had ſet the world in flames!

When the reign of a prince ſucceeds the diſſolution of a republic, no authority can be more abſolute than his own, for he then poſſeſſes all that power which before was diſtributed among the people, who exerciſed it without any limitations; and for this reaſon the kings of Denmark are the moſt deſpotic ſovereigns in Europe.

The people were altogether as abject and unmanly as the ſenate, though they once were animated with ſuch a martial ſpirit, that, when armies were levied in the city, before the time of

* See Tacitus.

the

the emperors, they gained the military diſcipline upon the ſpot, and immediately marched to the enemy. In the civil wars of Vitellius and Veſpaſian, Rome became a prey to the ambitious, and was full of timorous citizens, who were ſtruck with conſternation by any party of ſoldiers, who could firſt approach them.

The emperors themſelves were in no better a ſituation; for as the right of electing a ſovereign was not appropriated to any ſingle army, it generally happened, that, when an emperor was choſen by one body of ſoldiers, that circumſtance alone was ſufficient to diſcredit him with the others, who immediately ſet up a competitor to oppoſe him.

As the grandeur therefore of the republic proved fatal to that form of government, ſo the mighty extent of the empire was altogether as pernicious to the monarchs. If the territories they were to defend had been confined to moderate limits, thoſe ſovereigns might have been effectually ſerved by one principal army; and the ſoldiers, when they had once elected their emperor, would have been dutiful enough to acquieſce in their choice.

The ſoldiers were attached to the family of Cæſar, under which they enjoyed every advantage that a revolution would have procured them. The time came, that the great families of Rome were all exterminated by that of Cæſar, which itſelf became extinct in the perſon of Nero. The civil power, which had been continually

tinually depreſſed, was unable to balance the military; each army wanted to make an emperor.

Let us here compare the times: when Tiberius began his reign, wherein did he not employ the ſenate *? He was informed that the armies of Illyrium and Germany had mutinied: he granted ſome of their demands, and maintained, that it belonged to the † ſenate to judge of the reſt. He ſent to them deputies of that body. Thoſe who have ceaſed to fear the power, may ſtill reſpect the authority. When it had been repreſented to the ſoldiers, that in a Roman army the children of the emperors, and the deputies of the ſenate, ran the riſk of ‡ their lives, they might relent; and even proceed ſo far as to puniſh || themſelves: but when the ſenate was entirely depreſſed, its example moved no one. In vain did § Otho harangue his ſoldiers, to talk to them of the dignity of the ſenate: in vain did ** Vitellius ſend the principal ſenators to make his peace with Veſpaſian: they did not, for one moment, pay to the orders of the ſtate that reſpect which they had ſo long loſt. The armies looked on theſe deputies as the moſt ab-

* Tacitus Annal. lib. i.

† *Cætera ſenatui ſervanda*, ibid.

‡ See the oration of Germanicus, ibid.

|| *Gaudebat cædibus miles, quaſi ſemet abſolveret:* Tacitus, ibid. The privileges which had been extorted, were afterwards revoked. Tacitus, ibid.

§ Tacitus, lib. i. ** Idem, lib. iii.

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ject ſlaves of a maſter whom they had already rejected.

It was an ancient cuſtom at Rome, for thoſe who obtained a triumph, to diſtribute ſome money to each ſoldier: it was not much *. In the time of the civil wars theſe gratuities were augmented †. Formerly they were made with the money taken from the enemy; in theſe unhappy times, they gave that of the citizens, and the ſoldiers would have a ſhare where there was no booty: theſe diſtributions had taken place only after a war; Nero made them in a time of peace: the ſoldiers were uſed to them, and they raged againſt Galba, who boldly told them, that that he knew to chooſe, but not to buy them.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, ‡ made a very tranſient appearance in the imperial ſcene. Veſpaſian, who, like them, was elected by the army, devoted all his reign to the re-eſtabliſhment of the empire, which had been ſucceſſively poſſeſſed by ſix tyrants, all equally cruel, and moſt of them exceedingly furious and un-

* See in Livy the ſums diſtributed in the ſeveral triumphs. It was the humour of the generals to carry a great deal of money into the public treaſury, and give but little to the ſoldiers.

† Paulus Æmilius, at a time when the greatneſs of the conqueſts had occaſioned theſe liberalities to be augmented, gave only one hundred denarii to each private man; but Cæſar gave two thouſand, and his example was followed by Antony and Octavius, by Brutus and Caſſius. See Dio and Appian.

‡ *Suſcepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et tranſtulerunt.* Tacit. lib. i.

tractable; generally very weak, and, to complete the public calamity, profuſe even to infatuation.

Titus, who ſucceeded his father, was the darling of the people; but Domitian preſented to their view an uncommon monſter more inhuman in his diſpoſition, or at leaſt more implacable, than any of his predeceſſors, becauſe he was more timorous.

His favourite freemen, and, according to ſome hiſtorians, the empreſs herſelf, finding his friendſhip as dangerous as his averſion, and that he allowed no bounds to his ſuſpicions and accuſations, turned their thoughts to a ſucceſſor, and choſe the venerable Nerva.

Nerva adopted Trajan, who proved the moſt accompliſhed prince in all hiſtory; it was a happineſs to be born under his reign, which bleſſed the empire with more proſperity and true glory than it had ever enjoyed before. He was an admirable ſtateſman, and a moſt accompliſhed general; the native ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition inclined him to univerſal humanity; and his unclouded penetration guided him through the beſt and pureſt tracts of government; he was actuated by a noble ſoul, to whoſe embelliſhment every virtue had contributed; his conduct was free from all extremes, and his amiable qualities were tempered with that exact proportion that the brightneſs of one was never loſt in the luſtre of another. To ſum up all, he was the beſt qualified of mankind, to do honour to human nature, and to repreſent the divinity on earth.

He accompliſhed Cæſar's project of invading the Parthians, and was very ſucceſsful in his wars with that mighty people; any monarch but himſelf would have ſunk under the weight of ſuch an enterprize, where danger was always preſent, and from whence the ſource of his neceſſary ſupplies was at a vaſt diſtance; in a word, where he could not be ſure victory itſelf would ſave him from deſtruction.

The difficulty conſiſted in the ſituation of the two empires, and the military diſcipline of both nations. If he directed his march through Armenia towards the ſources of Tygris and Euphrates, he was ſure to be incommoded with a mountainous and impracticable country, through which no convoy of proviſion could paſs, ſo that the army would be half deſtroyed before they could penetrate into Media *. On the other hand, if he ſhould ſtrike out a lower track towards the ſouth, through Niſibis, he would find himſelf bewildered in a ghaſtly deſert that ſeparted the two empires; and if he intended to proceed ſtill lower, and march through Meſopotamia, he was then to croſs a large country that was either uncultivated or laid under water; and as the Tygris and Euphrates flowed from north to ſouth, he could not gain a paſſage into the country without quitting thoſe

* The country did not produce any trees large enough to be wrought into engines proper for the ſiege of towns. Plut. life of Antoninus.

rivers, which, if he did, he muſt inevitably periſh.

As to the manner practiſed by the two nations in making war, the ſtrength of the Romans conſiſted in their infantry, which was the moſt firm and beſt diſciplined body of ſoldiers in the world.

The Parthians on the contrary, had no infantry, but then their horſe were admirable, and always combated at ſuch a diſtance as placed them out of the reach of the Roman army, and the javelin was ſeldom launched far enough to wound them. Their own weapons conſiſted of a bow, and many formidable ſhafts, and they rather beſieged an army than gave it battle; they were purſued to no purpoſe in their flight, for that was the ſame with them as an engagement. They carried off all the inhabitants of the country, and only left garriſons in their fortified places; and when theſe were taken, the conquerors were obliged to deſtroy them. The Parthians likewiſe ſet fire to all the country that lay round the Roman army, and did not leave them the leaſt blade of herbage. In a word, they managed their wars in a manner very like that which is now practiſed on the ſame frontiers.

We may add to theſe diſadvantages, that the Illyrian and German legions which were drawn out for this war, were no way capable to ſuſtain it, * becauſe the ſoldiers, who were accuſtomed

* See Herodian's life of Alexander.

to

to plentiful food in their own country, periſhed in theſe regions for want of many neceſſaries.

The Parthians by theſe means had accompliſhed that, for the preſervation of their liberty, which had hitherto been impracticable to all other nations, againſt the victorious power of the Romans: but they owed this advantage not to any reſiſtleſs valour, but to their inacceſſible ſituation.

ADRIAN gave up the conqueſt of TRAJAN, and made Euphrates the boundary of his empire; and indeed it was ſurprizing that the Romans, after ſuch a ſeries of war, ſhould loſe nothing but what they were deſirous to quit; and thus they reſembled the ocean, whoſe expanſion is never leſſened but when it retires of itſelf.

This conduct of ADRIAN occaſioned great diſſatisfactions among the people. It was recorded in the ſacred book of that nation * that when Tarquin intended to build the capitol, he found the place moſt commodious for his purpoſe filled with the ſtatues of other deities, upon which he employed his ſkill in augury to diſcover if they were inclinable to reſign their places to Jupiter, and they all conſented, except Mars, Hebe, and Terminus. This proceeding gave birth to three religious opinions, namely, that Mars would never reſign his place to any other being; that the Roman youth would be always invincible; and that their god Terminus

* Auguſtin. *De civit. Dei*, lib. iv. c. 23 & 29.

would never recede from his ſtation; the contrary of which was however verified in the reign of Adrian.

CHAP. XVI.

Conſiderations on the State of the Empire from ANTONINUS *to* PROBUS.

IN this period the Stoics propagated their doctrines in the empire with great popularity; and it ſeems as if nature herſelf had been induſtrious to produce this admirable ſect which reſembled thoſe plants the earth cauſes to ſpring up in places never viſited by the ſunbeams.

This ſect furniſhed the Romans with their beſt emperors; none but Marcus Aurelius could extinguiſh the remembrance of the firſt Antonine who adopted him; and we find ourſelves affected with a ſecret pleaſure when we ſpeak of this emperor. We cannot read his life without ſome impreſſions of tenderneſs, and grow inclinable to think better of ourſelves, becauſe the hiſtory of that prince makes us entertain a more favourable opinion of mankind.

The wiſdom of NERVA, the glory of TRAJAN, the valour of ADRIAN, and the virtue of the two ANTONINES, gained them the veneration of the ſoldiers; but when a ſet of new monſters became their ſucceſſors, the abuſe of military government appeared in its full enormity; and the ſoldiers, who had expoſed the

empire

empire to ſale, aſſaſſinated the emperors for the ſake of new gratuities.

It has been a conceived opinion that there is a certain prince in the world, who, for the ſpace of fifteen years, has been endeavouring to aboliſh the civil government in his dominions, and to ſubſtitute the military in its room. I have no intention to make odious reflections on ſuch a deſign, and ſhall only obſerve, that from the nature of things in general, two hundred guards may be a better ſecurity to a prince than four thouſand; and beſides, an armed people are of all others the moſt dangerous to be oppoſed.

COMMODUS ſucceeded his father Marcus Aurelius, and was a monſter who gave a looſe to all his own paſſions, and thoſe of his courtiers. The perſons who delivered the world from ſuch a barbarian, transferred the imperial dignity to the venerable Pertinax, who was ſoon aſſaſſinated by the pretorian bands.

The empire was then expoſed to auction, and Didius Julian carried it by a number of magnificent promiſes. This proceeding exaſperated the whole body of the people; for though the empire had been frequently bought, it had never been ſold upon credit before. Peſcennius Niger, Severus, and Albinus, were ſaluted emperors; and Julian, not being in a condition to pay the immenſe ſums he had promiſed, was abandoned by the ſoldiers.

Severus defeated Niger and Albinus: He was maſter of extraordinary qualities, but wanted

that ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, which in princes is the moſt amiable quality they can poſſeſs.

The power of the emperors might eaſily appear more tyrannical than that of modern princes; for as their dignity was a conjunction of the various authorities in the Roman magiſtracy, ſuch as dictators, for inſtance, tribunes of the people, proconſuls, cenſors, ſupreme pontiffs, and ſometimes conſuls, they frequently aſſumed the diſpenſation of diſtributive juſtice, and it was eaſy for them to create ſuſpicions that they had oppreſſed thoſe whom they condemned; for the people uſually judge of the abuſe of power, by the greatneſs of its extent; whereas the kings of Europe, being legiſlators and not executors of the law, ſovereign princes but not judges, are conſequently diſcharged from the exerciſe of an authority that might prove odious; and have conſigned the infliction of puniſhments to magiſtrates, whilſt they reſerved to themſelves the diſtribution of pardons and other popular acts of mercy.

Few emperors have ever been more jealous of their authority than Tiberius and Severus, and yet they ſuffered themſelves to be governed in a moſt diſhonourable manner, the one by Sejanus, and the other by Plautian.

The unhappy cuſtom of proſcribing, introduced by Sylla, was ſtill practiſed under the emperors; and the prince muſt have been diſtinguiſhed by ſome virtue, if he diſcountenanced that ſevere proceeding; for as the miniſters and favourites

favourites turned their thoughts to confiſcations at the beginning of a reign, they were always repreſenting to their ſovereign the neceſſity of puniſhments, and the dangerous effects of clemency.

When Severus gave full play to his proſcriptions, a great body of Niger's * army retired for ſafety to the Parthians † and perfected them in every part of military diſcipline wherein they were any way defective; they habituated them to the Roman weapons, and even taught their workmen how to make their martial equipage; in conſequence of which, that people, who ſtill then had uſually limited their exploits to defenſive wars ‡, were generally aggreſſors for the future.

It is very remarkable, that in the long ſeries of thoſe civil wars that were continually raging, the chiefs, who were ſupported by the legions of Europe, generally defeated the leaders of the Aſiatic legions ‖; and we read, in the hiſtory of

* Herodian's life of Severus.

† This fatality continued in the reign of Alexander. Artaxerxes, who re-eſtabliſhed the Perſian empire, made it formidable to the Romans, becauſe their ſoldiers, either through caprice or a libertine diſpoſition, deſerted in great multitudes to the king of Perſia.

‡ Namely the Perſians, who followed their example.

‖ Severus defeated the Aſiatic legions of Niger, Conſtantine thoſe of Licinius: Veſpaſian, though proclaimed by the armies of Syria, made war againſt Vitellius only with the legions of Mœſia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. Cicero, when he was at his province, wrote to the ſenate, that they ſhould not reckon on the levies raiſed in this

Severus,

Severus, that he could not take the city of Atra in Arabia, becauſe the European legions having mutinied, he was obliged to employ thoſe of Syria.

This difference became evident, when the levies were firſt made * in the provinces, and it appeared as conſiderable in the legions, as it did in the nations out of which they were raiſed, and who, by nature or education, were more or leſs formed for war.

Another unhappy conſequence likewiſe enſued from theſe provincial levies; for the emperors, who were generally elected out of the ſoldiery, were for the moſt part ſtrangers, and ſometimes the worſt of Barbarians. Rome was now no longer miſtreſs of the world, but received laws from the whole univerſe.

Each emperor brought with him ſome peculiarity from his own country, relating to faſhions, manners, politics, or religion; and Heliogabalus had even formed a reſolution to deſtroy every object of religious veneration in Rome, and to baniſh all the gods from their temples, that he might place his own in their room.

This circumſtance, even conſidered as independent on the ſecret operations of the deity,

country. Conſtantine defeated Maxentius, ſays Zozimen, by his cavalry only. See hereafter chap. xxii.

* Auguſtus fixed the legions to particular ſtations in the provinces. The levies were originally raiſed at Rome, after that among the Latins, in Italy next, and laſt of all in the provinces.

which

which are obvious to his omniſcience alone, greatly contributed to the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; for nothing was now ſtrange in the empire, and the people were prepared to reliſh every new cuſtom which the emperors were inclinable to introduce.

It is well known, that the Romans received the gods of other nations into their city; but then they received them with the air of conquerors, and carried them in their triumphal proceſſions: but when ſtrangers attempted to eſtabliſh them by their own authority, they were immediately rejected. It is likewiſe notorious, that the Romans gave foreign deities the names of ſuch of their own gods as were moſt conformable to the others, in their attributes: But when the prieſts of other countries would introduce the adoration of their divinities, under their proper names, among the Romans, they were not permitted to accompliſh that deſign; and this was the greateſt obſtacle to the progreſs of Chriſtianity.

CARACALLA, who ſucceeded Severus, may be called not only a tyrant, but the deſtroyer of mankind: Caligula, Nero and Domitian limited their barbarities to Rome; but this monſter endeavoured to extend his fury thro' the world like a peſtilence.

Severus amaſſed prodigious treaſures by the exactions of a long reign, and his proſcriptions of thoſe who declared for his competitors in the empire.

Caracalla having commenced his reign with murdering his brother Geta with his own hands, purchaſed, with thoſe riches, a connivance at his crime, from the ſoldiers who had an extraordinary regard for Geta; but the liberalities of Caracalla had ſuch an effect upon them, that they declared they had taken oaths to both the children of Severus, and not to one alone.

The immoderate treaſures which have been gathered by princes have commonly produced fatal effects: they generally corrupt the ſucceſſor, who grows dazzled with the luſtre they diffuſe; and if they happen not to prevent his heart, they miſguide his mind, and cauſe him to form plans of mighty enterprizes, by the miniſtration of a power that is only accidental, always tranſitory and unnatural, and an empty inflation inſtead of a real grandeur.

Caracalla augmented the ſoldiers pay; Macrinus wrote to the Senate, that this augmentation amounted to * ſeventy millions of drachms †. This prince ſeems to have magnified things; and if we compare our ſoldiers pay now-a-days with the reſt of our public expences, and ſuppoſe that they kept the ſame proportion among the Romans, we ſhall ſee that this ſum was exceſſive.

* Seven thouſand myriads. Dion. in *Macrinus*.

† The Attic drachm was the ſame with the Roman denarius, the eighth part of an ounce, and the ſixty-fourth part of our marc.

Here

Here we ſhould enquire, what was a Roman ſoldier's pay? We learn from Oroſius, that Domitian raiſed * it a fourth from what it was before. And it appears from a ſoldier's ſpeech in Tacitus, that † at the death of Auguſtus it was ten ounces of braſs per day. We find in Suetonius ‡, that Julius Cæſar doubted the pay of his time. In Pliny ‖, at the ſecond Punic war, it was diminiſhed one fifth. It was then in the firſt Punic war § about ſix ounces of copper; in the ſecond **, about five ounces; at ten, under Julius Cæſar; and thirteen and a third, under Domitian ††. I ſhall make here ſome reflexions.

The pay which the republic might eaſily advance, when it was only a ſmall ſtate, when it

* He raiſed it in proportion as ſeventy-five is to an hundred.

† Annal. lib. i. ‡ Life of Jul. Cæſ.

‖ Hiſt. Nat. xxxiii. 13. Inſtead of giving ten ounces of copper for twenty, they paid ſixteen. [The author ſhould have ſaid, inſtead of ten *aſſes* of braſs of two ounces each, they paid only xvi *aſſes* of one ounce each.]

§ A ſoldier in the *Moſtellaria* of Plautus, ſays, it was three aſſes; which can be underſtood only of aſſes of ten ounces. But if the pay was exactly ſix aſſes in the firſt Punic war, it was not diminiſhed in the ſecond a fifth, but a ſixth, and the fraction was omitted.

** Polybius, who reduces the pay to Greek money, differs only by a fraction.

†† See Oroſius and Suetonius in *Domitian*. They ſay the ſame thing under different words. I have reduced the terms to ounces of braſs, that I might be underſtood without having recourſe to the ſeveral ſpecies of the Roman money.

engaged

engaged in a new war every year, and received the ſpoils of it as often; it was not able to raiſe, without running in debt, under the firſt Punic war, when it carried its arms beyond Italy, when it maintained a long war, and ſupported great armies.

In the ſecond Punic war the pay was reduced to five ounces of braſs; and this diminution might be made without danger at a time when moſt of the citizens were aſhamed to receive pay, and were willing to ſerve at their own charge.

The treaſures of Perſia *, and of ſo many other kings, which flowed into Rome, put an end to taxes there. In ſuch public and private opulence, they had the prudence not to enlarge the former payment of five ounces of braſs.

Though even from this pay they made a deduction for corn, cloaths, and arms; ſtill it was ſufficient, becauſe they enrolled only thoſe citizens, who had patrimonies of their own.

Marius having enrolled people of no ſubſtance, and his example being afterwards followed, Julius Cæſar was obliged to augment the pay.

This augmentation having been continued after the Death of Cæſar, they were obliged, under the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, to re-eſtabliſh taxes.

The weakneſs of Domitian adding one fourth to this pay, was a great blow to the State, the

* Cic. Offic. lib. ii.

unhap-

unhappineſs of which was not that it brought in luxury in general, but infuſed it among people of that condition who ought to be ſupplied with no more than the bare neceſſities which nature requires. Laſtly, by Carracalla's final augmentation, the empire was thrown into ſuch a condition, that, not being able to ſubſiſt without ſoldiers, it could not ſubſiſt with them.

Caracalla, to ſoften the horror of his fratricide, inſtituted divine honours to his brother Geta; and, what was very peculiar, he himſelf received the ſame deification from MACRINUS, who after he had cauſed him to be ſtabbed, and was deſirous of appeaſing the prætorian bands, who regretted the death of a prince whoſe liberalities they had ſo often enjoyed, erected a temple, and eſtabliſhed a prieſthood of Flamins in his honour.

This preſerved his memory from all degrading imputations, * and the ſenate not daring to cenſure him, he was not ranked among the tyrants, like Commodus, who had not done more to deſerve that title than himſelf.

As to the two great emperors Adrian and Severus †, one eſtabliſhed and the other relaxed the military diſcipline, and the events exactly correſponded with their cauſes: the reigns which ſucceeded that of Adrian were a ſeries of happineſs and tranquillity; but after the death of

* Ælius Lampridius in Vita Alexandri Severi.

† See the abridgment of Xiphil. in the life of Adrian, and Herodian in the life of Severus.

Severus,

Severus, nothing was ſeen but a ſucceſſion of calamities and horror.

Caracalla had confined himſelf to no limitations in his prodigality to the Soldiers; and in that particular he acted conformably to the ſentiments of his father, who, on his death-bed, adviſed him to enrich the army and diſregard all the reſt of mankind.

But theſe politics could be only accommodated to one reign; for the ſucceſſor, being no longer able to continue thoſe expences, was ſoon aſſaſſinated by the army: ſo that the emperors who were eminent for wiſdom, were always murdered by the ſoldiers; and thoſe, whoſe lives were infamous, were deſtroyed either by the conſpiracies or edicts of the ſenate.

When a tyrant ſuffered himſelf to be entirely influenced by the army, and left the citizens expoſed to their licentious depredations, ſuch injurious proceedings could not be extended beyond the period of one reign; becauſe the ſoldiers, in conſequence of their devaſtations, impoveriſhed the people, and defeated themſelves of their pay by that event. It therefore became neceſſary to reform the military diſcipline, which was a project always fatal to the perſons who preſumed to attempt it.

When Caracalla loſt his life by the treachery of Macrinus, the ſoldiers, in deſpair at the death of a prince whoſe liberality had been diſpenſed to them with an unlimited flow, elected HELIO-

GABALUS,

GABALUS *; and when he, by his proſtitution to infamous pleaſures, and the lawleſs extravagances he ſuffered the army to commit, grew contemptible even in their eyes, they diſpatched him by an aſſaſſination. The ſame fate attended ALEXANDER, who was preparing to reſtore the true military diſcipline, and threatned to puniſh the ſoldiers for their miſconduct †.

In this manner a tyrant, who, inſtead of being ſollicitous for his ſafety, affected an ability to be criminal, periſhed with the fatal advantage of being murdered a few days before another who would willingly have been a better man.

After the death of Alexander, the imperial dignity was transferred to MAXIMIN, who was the firſt emperor of Barbarian extraction, and had been diſtinguiſhed by his ſtrength and gigantic ſtature.

This prince and his ſon were likewiſe ſlain by the ſoldiers. The two firſt GORDIANS periſhed in Africa: MAXIMUS, BALBINUS, and the third GORDIAN were maſſacred: PHILIP, who had cauſed the young Gordian to be deſtroyed, was himſelf ſlain with his ſon; and DECIUS, who was choſen to ſucceed him, was murdered in his turn by the treaſon of GALLUS ‡.

The Roman empire was improperly ſo denominated at that time, and might rather be called

* At this time every one thought himſelf good enough to riſe to empire. See Dial. lxxix.

† See Lampridius.

‡ Caſaubon obſerves, on the Hiſtoria Auguſta, that during

an irregular commonwealth, nearly reſembling the Ariſtocraſy of Algiers, where the militia, who are inveſted with the ſovereign power, elect and depoſe the magiſtrate they call the Dey; and it may perhaps be taken for a general rule, that a military government is, in ſome reſpects, a republic rather than a monarchy.

But leaſt any one ſhould imagine the ſoldiers had no other ſhare in the government than what they extorted by their diſobedience and inſurrections, let it be aſked whether the orations in which the emperors addreſſed themſelves to the army, were not at laſt very correſpondent to thoſe which the conſuls and tribunes formerly made to the people? And though the ſoldiers had no particular place to aſſemble in, nor were under the regulation of any certain forms; though the temper of their minds was not uſually ſerene, their proceedings conſiſting of action rather than deliberation, did they not however diſpoſe of the public fortune with a ſovereign authority? What was an emperor but the miniſter of a violent and tumultuous government,

the period of 160 years which it comprehends, there were ſeventy perſons, who juſtly or otherwiſe, had the title of Cæſar. *Adeo erant in illo Principatu, quem tamen omnes mirantur, comitia Imperii ſemper incerta.* So uncertain, to the aſtoniſhment of all, were the elections in that empire. Which circumſtance ſufficiently manifeſts the difference between the Roman government and that of France, where, for the long ſpace of twelve hundred years, no more than ſixty-three kings have reigned.

and

and did not the ſoldiers elect him for their own particular convenience?

When the army aſſociated into the empire *, Philip, the prætorian prefect of the third Gordian, claimed the exerciſe of an undivided command, but did not ſucceed in his pretenſions; he then requeſted the army to divide the power equally between them, but to as little effect; he next intreated them to leave him the title of Cæſar, and was ſtill refuſed; he afterwards ſolicited them to create him prefect of the prætorian bands, and met with the uſual repulſe; till at laſt he was reduced to plead for his life. The army, in the inſtance before us, exerciſed the ſupreme magiſtracy in their ſeveral deciſions.

The Barbarians were at firſt unknown to the Romans, and for ſome time afterwards only incommodious; but at laſt they became formidable to them, by an event altogether unparalleled at that time, and which perhaps may never be equalled hereafter. Rome had ſo effectually extinguiſhed all nations, that when ſhe at laſt was vanquiſhed in her turn, the earth ſeemed to produce a new race of mankind, to accompliſh her deſtruction.

Thoſe princes who have large dominions ſeldom find them bordered by any territories conſiderable enough to be the objects of their ambition; and ſhould there be any ſuch, they would naturally be ſwallowed up in a ſeries of

* See Julius Capitolinus.

conqueſt. We will ſay they are bounded then by ſeas and mountains, and vaſt deſerts, whoſe ſterility rendered them contemptible. The Romans for this reaſon ſuffered the Germans to range in their foreſts and gloomy wilds, and let the northern nations ſhiver amidſt the polar ſnow; and yet thoſe inhoſpitable regions produced a people, who at laſt enſlaved the conquerors of the world.

In the reign of Gallus a mighty collection of nations, who afterwards became more celebrated, ſpread their ravages through all Europe; and the Perſians having invaded Syria, abandoned their conqueſts only to preſerve their booty.

We no longer ſee any of thoſe ſwarms of Barbarians which the North formerly ſent out. The violences of the Romans had made the people of the South retire into the North: while the force which confined them, ſubſiſted, they remained there: when it was weakened, they diſperſed themſelves into all parts *. The ſame thing happened ſome ages after. The conqueſts and tyrannies of Charlemagne had again forced the nations of the South into the North: as ſoon as this empire was weakened, they poured a ſecond time from the North into the South. And if at preſent a prince made the ſame ravages in Europe, the nations driven into the North, with their backs to the limits of the univerſe, would maintain their ground, till the moment

* This may ſerve for an anſwer to the famous queſtion, Why the North is no longer ſo populous as formerly?

they

they ſhould over-run and conquer Europe a third time.

The miſerable diſorders which had ſo long been ſpringing up in the ſeveral ſucceſſions of the emperors, were now come to their fatal maturity, and that period which was concurrent with the cloſe of VALERIAN's reign, and the duration of that of his ſon GALLIENUS, produced thirty pretenders to the empire, the greateſt part of whom being ſwept away by their mutual contentions, their devaſtations were limited to a ſhort reign; and they gained nothing durable but the appellation of the Thirty tyrants.

Valerian having been taken priſoner by the Perſians, and his ſon Gallienus neglecting the public affairs, the Barbarians penetrated into all parts, and the empire was now in the ſame condition it was afterwards reduced to in the Weſt *, at the cloſe of another century, and it would then have felt its laſt convulſions, had not a happy conjunction of events interpoſed for its preſervation.

The terrible confuſion in ſucceeding to the empire being come to its height, we find at the end of the reign of Valerianus, and during that of Gallienus his ſon, no leſs than thirty pretenders to the throne, moſt of whom having got poſſeſſion of it, and reigned for a very ſhort time, were called the TYRANTS.

* An hundred and fifty years after this event, the Barbarians invaded the empire in the reign of Honorius.

Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, and one of the Roman allies, diſlodged the Perſians, who had invaded the greateſt part of Aſia: Rome furniſhed an army of its own citizens, and they effectually delivered it from the Barbarians who came to pillage their city: an innumerable army of Scythians, who put to ſea in a fleet of five thouſand ſhips, entirely periſhed by ſtorms, fatigue, and famine, and even by their formidable grandeur; and Gallienus being at laſt ſlain, Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, and Probus, who happily ſucceeded him, and were four extraordinary princes, ſnatched the empire from the verge of ruin.

CHAP. XVII.

Changes in the STATE.

THE emperors, to prevent the continual treaſons of the army, aſſociated into the government proper perſons in whom they might confide; and DIOCLESIAN, under pretext of the weight and multiplicity of the public affairs, eſtabliſhed a law, that there ſhould always be two emperors and as many Cæſars. He judged, that, by this proceeding, the four principal armies being poſſeſſed by the partners in the empire, would naturally intimidate one another, and that the inferior armies being too weak to have any thoughts of raiſing their chiefs to the imperial dignity, their cuſtom of election would be gradually diſcontinued, and entirely aboliſhed

at laſt. Beſides, the dignity of the Cæſars being always ſubordinate, that power, which, for the ſecurity of the government, was in the participation of four, would be exerciſed in its full extent by no more than two.

The ſoldiers were likewiſe reſtrained from their exorbitances by conſidering, that as the riches of particular perſons as well as the public treaſure were conſiderably diminiſhed, the emperors were in no condition to offer them ſuch large donations as formerly, and conſequently the gratuities would be no longer proportionable to the danger of a new election.

We may add to this, that the prefects of the prætorian bands, whoſe power and employments rendered them the grand viſiers of thoſe times, and frequently tempted them to murder their emperors, in order to raiſe themſelves to the throne, were greatly reduced by Conſtantine, who diveſted them of all but their civil functions, and augmented their number to four inſtead of two.

The lives of the emperors began now to be in greater ſecurity, and they might reaſonably expect to die peaceably in their beds. This circumſtance ſeems in ſome meaſure to have ſoftened their diſpoſitions, and they no longer ſhed human blood with the barbarous prodigality of their predeceſſors. But as the immenſe power they ſtill poſſeſſed muſt needs have ſome particular tendency, it began to manifeſt itſelf in a ſpecies of tyranny leſs glaring than the former.

The ſubjects were no longer affrighted with inhuman maſſacres, but then they were haraſſed by unjuſt ſentences and forms of judicature, which ſeemed to defer death only to render life itſelf uncomfortable. The court governed, and was likewiſe ſwayed in its turn, by a greater variety of artifices and a more exquiſite train of political refinements, which were conducted with greater ſilence than uſual. In a word, inſtead of an unterrified diſpoſition to form a bad action, and a cruel precipitation to commit it, thoſe gigantic iniquities ſhrunk into the vices of weak minds, and could only be called languid crimes.

A new train of corruption was now introduced, the firſt emperors purſued pleaſures, but theſe ſunk into ſoftneſs. They ſhewed themſelves with leſs frequency to the ſoldiers, were more indolent and fonder of their domeſtics, more devoted to the palace, and more abſtracted from the empire.

The poiſon of the court grew more malignant in proportion to the diſguiſe it aſſumed. All direct terms were diſuſed in diſcourſe, and diſtant inſinuations became the dialect of the palace. Every ſhining reputation were ſullied, and the miniſters as well as the officers of the army were perpetually left to the diſcretion of that ſort of people, who, as they cannot be uſeful to the ſtate themſelves, ſuffer none to ſerve it with reputation and glory.

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In a word, that affability of the firſt emperors, which alone qualified them for an inſight into their affairs; was now entirely diſcarded. The prince had no informations, but what were conveyed to him by the canal of a few favourites, who being always in concert together, and even when they ſeemed to diſagree in their opinions, were only in the province of a ſingle perſon to their ſovereign.

The reſidence of ſeveral emperors in Aſia, and their perpetual competition with the kings of Perſia, made them form a reſolution to be adored like thoſe monarchs; and Diocleſian, though others ſay Galerius, publiſhed an edict to that effect.

This pompous imitation of the Aſiatic pride being once eſtabliſhed, the people were ſoon habituated to ſuch a ſpectacle, and when Julian would have regulated his conduct by a modeſt ſimplicity of manners, that proceeding which was no more than a renovation of the ancient behaviour, was imputed to him as a reproachful inattention to his dignity.

Though ſeveral emperors had reigned after Marcus Aurelius, yet the empire was undivided; and as the authority of thoſe princes was acknowledged in all the provinces, it was but one power though exerciſed by many perſons.

But GALERIUS * and CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, being at variance with each other, divided the empire in reality; and this example,

* See Oroſius, lib. vii. and Aurelius Victor.

which

which was afterwards followed by CONSTANTINE, who purſued the plan of Galerius and not that of Diocleſian, introduced a cuſtom which might be called a revolution rather than a change.

We may likewiſe add, that the ſtrong deſire of Conſtantine to be the founder of a new city, and an impulſe of vanity to diſtinguiſh it by his own name, determined him to transfer the ſeat of empire to the eaſt. Though Rome was far from being ſo ſpacious within the walls as it is at preſent, yet the ſuburbs were prodigiouſly extenſive *: Italy was filled with ſeats of pleaſure, and might properly be called the garden of Rome. The huſbandmen were in Sicily, Africa, and Egypt †; but the gardeners lived altogether in Italy. The lands were generally cultivated by the ſlaves of the Roman citizens, but when the ſeat of empire was eſtabliſhed in the eaſt, all Rome was in a manner tranſplanted to that ſituation. Thither did the grandees ſend their ſlaves, or, in other words, the greateſt part of the people, and Italy was almoſt exhauſted of its inhabitants.

It was Conſtantine's intention that the new city ſhould not be inferior in any particular to

* *Expatiantia tecta multos addidere urbes*, ſays Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iii.

† Corn, ſays Tacitus, was formerly exported from Italy to the diſtant provinces, and it is not a barren land now; but we cultivate Africa and Egypt, and chooſe to expoſe the lives of the Roman people to danger.

the

the old one; and therefore he took care to have it ſufficiently ſupplied with corn, commanding all the harveſt of Egypt to be ſent to Conſtantinople, and conſigning that of Africa to Rome, which does not ſeem to have been a very judicious proceeding.

Whilſt the republic ſubſiſted, the people of Rome, who were then the ſovereigns of all other nations, became naturally intituled to a proportion of the tribute: this circumſtance induced the ſenate to ſell them corn, at firſt, for a low price, and afterwards to make a gratuitous diſtribution of it among them; and when monarchy itſelf was introduced, this latter cuſtom was ſtill continued, though entirely oppoſite to the principles of that form of government. 'Tis true, the abuſe remained unrectified through an apprehenſion of the inconveniencies that would have riſen from its diſcontinuance; but when Conſtantine founded a new city, he eſtabliſhed the ſame cuſtom without the leaſt appearance of reaſon.

When Auguſtus had conquered Egypt, he conveyed the treaſure of the Ptolemies to Rome; and this proceeding occaſioned much the ſame revolution, which the diſcovery of the Indies afterwards effected in Europe, and which ſome ridiculous ſchemes have ſince accompliſhed in our time. The revenue was doubled at Rome*,

* Sueton. in Auguſt. Oroſ. lib. vi. Rome often met with theſe revolutions. I have before obſerved, that the

and

and as that city continued to abſorb all the riches of Alexandria, which was itſelf the repoſitory of the treaſures of Africa and the Eaſt; gold and ſilver by theſe means became very common in Europe, and the people were able to pay very conſiderable taxations even in money.

But when the empire was afterwards divided, all theſe riches flowed in a full tide to Conſtantinople; and we may add to this unhappy circumſtance, that the mines in Germany * had not then been opened: that thoſe of Italy † and Gaul were very few and inconſiderable; and that the mines of Spain ‡ had not been worked ſince the Carthaginians loſt that country, or at leaſt they were not ſo productive as formerly; Italy itſelf was now a continued waſte of forſaken gardens, and conſequently could not be in any condition to draw money from the Eaſt, whilſt the Weſt at the ſame time was drained of all its wealth, by the oriental merchants who ſupplied the inhabitants with their neceſſary

treaſures brought thither from Macedonia ſuperſeded all farther tribute. Cicero in his *Offices*, lib. ii.

* Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, declares this in expreſs terms. Beſides, we know pretty near the time in which moſt of the mines of Germany were opened. See Thomas Seſreiberus of the origin of the mines of the Harts. Thoſe of Saxony are thought to be leſs ancient.

† See Pliny Nat. Hiſt. xxxvii. 77.

‡ The Carthaginians, ſays Diodorus, underſtood very well the art of making an advantage of them; and the Romans that of hindering others from making ſuch advantage.

commo-

commodities. Gold and ſilver, by theſe means, became extremely ſcarce in Europe; and yet the emperors extorted the ſame pecuniary tributes as formerly, which completed the general deſtruction.

When a government has been eſtabliſhed in one certain form, and its political circumſtances are adjuſted to a particular ſituation, it is generally prudent to leave them in that condition; for the ſame cauſes which have enabled ſuch a ſtate to ſubſiſt, though they may frequently be complicated and unknown, will ſtill continue to ſupport it; but when the whole ſyſtem is changed, remedies can only be accommodated to the inconveniences viſible in the theory, whilſt others, which nothing but experience can point out, are lurking without oppoſition, in the new plan.

For theſe reaſons, though the empire grew already too great, yet it was effectually ruined by the diviſions into which it was parcelled, becauſe all the parts of this vaſt body, had, for a long ſeries of time, been arranged ſo as to become ſettled and ſteady, and were compacted by a mutual dependency through the whole.

Conſtantine *, after he had weakened the capital, proceeded to impair the frontiers by

* This account of Conſtantine's proceedings no way contradicts the eccleſiaſtical writers, who declare they confine themſelves to thoſe actions of this prince which had any relation to religion, without concerning themſelves with the political tranſactions in that reign. Euſeb. Life of Conſtantine, lib. i. c. 9. Socrates, lib. i. c. 1.

drawing

drawing off thoſe legions who were ſtationed on the banks of great rivers, and diſtributing them into the provinces. This innovation was extremely prejudicial in more inſtances than one; for as the barrier which comprehended ſo many nations was now removed; ſo the ſoldiers * paſſed all their time, and grew effeminate in the Circus and the theatres †.

When Julian was ſent by Conſtantius into Gaul, he found that fifty towns on the Rhine ‡ had been taken by the Barbarians, that the provinces were all plundered, and that there was now no more than the ſhadow of a Roman army, which fled at the very mention of the enemies name.

This prince by his wiſdom ‖, and perſeverance, joined with œconomy, conduct, and valour, and proſpered by a noble ſeries of heroic actions, chaſed the Barbarians out of their new

* Zozimus, lib. ii.

† After the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the combats of gladiators were very ſeldom exhibited, and Conſtantine prohibited them by his authority; but this barbarous cuſtom was not entirely aboliſhed till the time of Honorius. The Romans retained nothing of their ancient ſhews, but what tended to emaſculate their minds, and allure them to pleaſure. In former times, the ſoldiers, before they took the field, were entertained with a combat of gladiators, to familiariſe them to the ſight of blood and weapons of war, and to inſpire them with intrepidity when they engaged the enemy. Jul. Capit. Life of Maximus and Balbinus.

‡ Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xvi, xvii, and xviii.

‖ Ammian. Marcellin. ibid.

ſettle-

ſettlements, and his name became a terror as long as he lived *.

The ſhortneſs of the reigns, the various political parties, the different religons, and the particular ſects of theſe religions, have greatly diſfigured the characters of the emperors; I ſhall give only two examples: that Alexander, who is a coward in Herodian, is a hero in Lampridius; that Gratian, ſo highly celebrated by the Orthodox, is compared to Nero by Philoſtorgius.

No prince ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring the ancient plan, more than Valentinian. His whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making levies, raiſing caſtles, placing troops in proper ſtations, and furniſhing them with ſubſiſtance on thoſe frontiers; but an event that afterwards happened, determined his brother Valens to open the Danube, and that proceeding was attended with very dreadful conſequences.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucaſus and the Caſpian ſea, was inhabited by a numerous people who compoſed great part of the nation of the Huns, or that of the Alans. The ſoil was exceeding fertile; the inhabitants were fond of wars and robberies; and were always either on horſeback or in their chariots, and wandered about the country wherein they were incloſed: they ſometimes made depredations on the fron-

* See the noble panegyrick made by Ammianus Marcellinus on this prince, lib. xxv.

tiers

tiers of Perſia and Armenia; but the ports of the Caſpian ſea were eaſily guarded, and it was difficult for them to penetrate into Perſia, by any other avenues; and as they imagined it impracticable to croſs the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans; ſo that whilſt other Nations of Barbarians ravaged the empire, theſe confined them within the limits which their ignorance had drawn around them.

It has been the opinion of ſome, * that the ſlime which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais, had by degrees formed a kind of incruſtation on the ſurface of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, over which theſe people are ſuppoſed to have paſſed. Others † inform us, that two young Scythians being in full purſuit of a hind, the terrified creature ſwam over that arm of the ſea, upon which the youths immediately following her in the ſame track, were exceedingly aſtoniſhed to find themſelves in a new world; and, at the return to the old one, they gave their countrymen ‡ a particular account of the ſtrange lands, and, if I may be indulged in the expreſſion, the inviting Indies they had lately diſcovered.

Upon this information, an innumerable body of Huns immediately paſſed thoſe ſtreights;

* Zozimus, lib. iv.

† *Jornandes de rebus Geticis.* The Miſcellaneous Hiſt. of Procopius.

‡ Vide Sozomen. lib. vi.

and,

and, meeting firſt with the Goths, made that people fly before them. It ſhould ſeem as if theſe mighty countries poured their nations out precipitately upon one another, and that Aſia had acquired a new weight to make it ponderate equal to the European power.

The Goths in conſternation preſented themſelves on the banks of the Danube, and with a ſuppliant air intreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. The flatterers * of Valens improved this conjuncture, and repreſented it as a fortunate conqueſt of a new people, who, by the acceſſion of their numbers, would defend and enrich the empire.

Valens ordered † them to be admitted into his territories, upon delivering up their arms, but his officers ſuffered them to repurchaſe with their money as many as they pleaſed; they were afterwards diſtributed into ſeveral allotments of land; but the Goths, ‡ contrary to the cuſtom of the Huns, did not cultivate the portions of

* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxix.

† Several of thoſe who had received theſe orders abandoned themſelves to a brutal paſſion for ſome of the male refugees; others were enſnared by the beauty of the young Barbarians of the other ſex, and became the captives of their female ſlaves; a third ſort were corrupted by preſents in money, linen habits, and fringed mantles; and all their thoughts only tended to enrich their houſes with ſlaves, and to ſtock their farms with cattle. Hiſt. of Dexippus.

‡ See the Gothic hiſtory by Priſcus, who has ſet this difference of cuſtoms in a clear light. It may be aſked perhaps, how it was poſſible for nations who never cultivated their lands, to be ſo powerful, when thoſe of America are

ground aſſigned them. They were even left deſtitute of the promiſed ſupplies of corn, and were ready to periſh amidſt a land of plenty; they were armed for war, and yet unjuſtly inſulted. In conſequence of theſe provocations they ravaged all the country from the Danube to the Boſphorus; they deſtroyed Valens and all his army, and repaſſed the Danube only to quit the hideous ſolitude they had effected by their devaſtations *.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of ſome new Maxims received by the Romans.

SOmetimes, the puſillanimous ſpirit of the emperors †, and frequently the defenceleſs ſtate of the empire, made the people employ

ſo very weak: it is becauſe people who follow a paſtoral life are furniſhed with a better ſubſiſtence, than thoſe who live by the chace.

It appears by the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus, that the Huns in their firſt ſettlements did not manure their lands, and only ſubſiſted on their flocks and herds in a country that abounded with rich paſtures, and was watered with many rivers; ſuch is the practice of the inhabitants of little Tartary, which is part of the ſame country. And it is probable, that the nations we have been ſpeaking of, having, after their migrations from their native land, ſettled in countries that afforded little or no paſturage for their cattle, applied themſelves to the cultivation of the ſoil.

* See Zozimus, lib. iv. See alſo Dexippus's Extract of the Embaſſies of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.

† At firſt they gave all to the ſoldiers; afterwards all to the enemy.

their

their money to appeaſe the nations who threatned to invade them; but the deſired peace could never be effectually purchaſed, becauſe thoſe who ſold it could, whenever they pleaſed, oblige the Romans to buy it again.

It is much better to hazard an unſucceſsful war, than to part with great ſums for a precarious peace; for a prince is always reſpected, when it is known he will make a long reſiſtance before he can be vanquiſhed.

Beſides, ſuch gratifications as theſe were changed into tribute at laſt, and though they were free at the beginning, they became neceſſary in the event, and paſſed for an acquired property: for which reaſon, when an emperor refuſed them to ſome particular people, or was not diſpoſed to give them ſo much as they demanded, they immediately declared themſelves his mortal enemies. To produce an inſtance or two, from a thouſand: the army which Julian led againſt the Perſians, * was purſued in its retreat from the Eaſt, by the Arabians, to whom the cuſtomary tribute had been refuſed: and in a ſhort time afterwards, in the reign of Valentinian, the Germans †, who had been offered more inconſiderable preſents than uſual, grew exaſperated at that diſobliging frugality, and theſe northern people being already influenced by a point of honour, avenged themſelves, of this pretended inſult, by a cruel war.

* Ammian. Marcellin, lib. xxiv. † Idem, lib. xxvi.

All thoſe nations who ſurrounded the empire in Europe and Aſia, exhauſted it by degrees of its riches: and as the Romans derived their grandeur and power from the gold and ſilver, which flowed into the empire from the coffers of ſo many kings; they now grew weak and deſpicable, * becauſe the ſame gold and ſilver was drained from them by other nations.

The miſconduct of politicians is not always voluntary, but happens frequently to be the unavoidable conſequence of their particular ſituation; and therefore one inconvenience is generally the offſpring of another.

The army as we have already declared, became very expenſive to the ſtate, and the ſoldiers had three ſorts of advantages; their ordinary pay, donations of recompence after their ſervices, and accidental liberalities, which were often claimed as ſtated properties by a body of men

* You would willingly be rich, *ſaid Julian to his mutinous army*, there's Perſia for your purpoſe, let us march thither; for, believe me, all the riches of the Roman republic are now no more, our poverty is owing to thoſe who perſuaded our princes to purchaſe peace from the Barbarians. Our treaſury is exhauſted, our cities are in ruins, and our provinces look dreadful with deſolation. An emperor, who knows no riches but thoſe of the mind, is not aſhamed to acknowledge a virtuous and irreproachable poverty. You may revolt if you are ſo diſpoſed; for my part, either death ſhall relieve me, for I ſcorn a life of which the leaſt fever can deprive me, as effectually as my ſword; or I will retire from the world, for I have not paſſed my days in ſuch a manner as to be incapable of a private life. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxiv.

who

who had both princes and people in their power.

The inability of the people to furniſh theſe expences, obliged them to employ a leſs chargeable ſoldiery, and treaties were ſtruck up with barbarous nations, who had neither the luxury of the Roman army, nor the ſame ſpirit and pretenſions.

There was another advantage, beſides this; for as the Barbarians poured their troops into a country with the greateſt precipitation, the Romans being unprovided for their reception, and finding it ſometimes difficult to raiſe levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire another party of Barbarians, who were always mercenary, and eager for battle and plunder. This expedient had its uſe in the preſent emergency; but when that was over, the Romans found it as difficult to rid themſelves of their new allies, as of their enemies themſelves.

The ancient Romans never ſuffered the auxiliary troops to outnumber their own, in their armies *; and though their allies might properly be reputed their ſubjects, yet they had no inclination to let thoſe ſubjects be better warriors than themſelves.

But in the latter times, this proportion of the auxiliaries was not only diſregarded, but even

* This obſervation is made by Vegetius, and it appears from Livy, that if the auxiliaries ſometimes exceeded the Romans in number, the ſuperiority was very inconſiderable.

the national troops were compoſed of Barbarian ſoldiers.

Thus were cuſtoms eſtabliſhed, quite oppoſite to thoſe which had rendered the Romans maſters of the world; and as the genius of their former politics always prompted them to reſerve the military art to themſelves, and exclude their neighbours from any participation of its principles, they now extinguiſhed it in their own people, and eſtabliſhed it among foreigners.

Take this compendium of the Roman hiſtory: They ſubdued all nations, by their maxims, but when they had ſo far ſucceeded, their republic could not ſubſiſt any longer; the plan of their government muſt be changed, and maxims contrary to the firſt, being then introduced, they were diveſted of all their grandeur.

Fortune never interpoſes in the government of this world, and we may be convinced of this truth by the Romans, who enjoyed a continual ſeries of proſperity when they regulated their conduct by one invariable plan; but they ſuffered an uninterrupted train of calamities, when they acted upon different principles. There are a ſet of general cauſes, either moral or phyſical, which operate in every monarchy, and either raiſe and maintain it, or elſe involve it in ruin. All accidental conjunctures are ſubordinate to theſe cauſes; and if the hazard of a battle, which in other words is no more than a particular cauſe, has been deſtructive to a ſtate, ſome general cauſe preſided and made a ſingle battle

be the inevitable ruin of that ſtate. In a word, the tendency of the main principle draws after it all the particular incidents.

We are ſenſible, that for two centuries paſt, the Daniſh troops have been generally defeated by the Swedes; we may therefore conclude, that, independent of the bravery of the two nations, and the chance of war, either their civil or military government is diſconcerted by ſome ſecret flaw which produces this effect, and I am of opinion it may eaſily be diſcovered.

In a word, the Romans loſt their military diſcipline, and even neglected it in their very arms. Vegetius * acquaints us, that the ſoldiers finding them too ponderous, obtained the emperor Gratian's permiſſion to quit their coats of mail, and ſoon after their helmets; and when their bodies were thus defenceleſs, they grew attentive to nothing but flight.

The ſame author adds, they had loſt the art of fortifying their camp, and that by this negligence they were eaſily overwhelmed by the Barbarian horſe.

The cavalry of the firſt Romans was not numerous, it was but the eleventh part of a legion, and often leſs, and what is extraordinary, was made leſs uſe of by them than by us, who are obliged to carry on ſo many ſieges, where cavalry is of little ſervice. When the Roman empire was in its decay, their forces conſiſted of little elſe but cavalry. I imagine, as a nation

* *De re Militari*, lib. i. c. 20.

improves in the knowledge of the military art, it truſts the more to its infantry; and as that ſcience decreaſes, it increaſes its cavalry in proportion: the reaſon is, becauſe the infantry, whether light or heavy, is nothing without diſcipline, whereas, the cavalry is always of uſe even in its diſorder *. The action of the latter conſiſts chiefly in its impetuoſity and ſudden ſhock; that of the former in its reſiſtance and impenetrable firmneſs, which is not ſo much action as re-action. Laſtly, the force of the cavalry is momentaneous; that of the infantry of longer duration; now there is need of diſcipline to continue it in a perſevering ſtate.

The Romans arrived at univerſal monarchy not only by the arts of war, but likewiſe by their wiſdom, their perſeverance, their paſſion for glory, and their heroic love for their country: and when even theſe virtues diſappeared under the emperors, and they had only the art military among them, yet this alone, notwithſtanding the weakneſs and tyranny of their princes, enabled them to preſerve their former acquiſitions. But when corruption had at laſt inſinuated itſelf among the ſoldiery, they became the prey of every nation.

An empire founded by arms, muſt likewiſe have arms for its ſupport. But as a people, when

* The cavalry of the Tartars, without obſerving any of our military maxims, has at all times performed great things. See the hiſtories, and particularly thoſe of the conqueſt of China.

their

their ſtate is in confuſion, are at a loſs how to rectify their civil diſorders; in the ſame manner, when they enjoy a profound peace, and are reſpected for their power, they never imagine this calm ſcene may change, and conſequently neglect their military force, from whence, as they have nothing more to hope, ſo they fancy they have all things to fear, and ſometimes proceed ſo far as to weaken that baſis of their welfare.

It was an inviolable law among the Romans, that whoever abandoned his poſt or quitted his arms in the combat, ſhould be puniſhed with death. Julian and Valentinian, had reinforced the ancient penalties in this particular; but the Barbarians who were taken into the Roman pay *, and were accuſtomed to make war in the manner now practiſed by the Tartars, who flie in order to rally, and are more ſollicitous for plunder than martial reputation, were incapable of conforming to ſuch ſevere regulations.

The diſcipline of the ancient Romans was ſo ſtrict, that they have had generals who ſentenced their own children to die, for gaining a battle without their orders: but when they were intermixed with the Barbarians, they contracted, from that aſſociation, the ſame ſpirit of independency which marks out the character of thoſe

* They would not ſubmit to the Roman diſcipline. See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xviii. who relates it as an extraordinary circumſtance, that they condeſcended in one inſtance to pleaſe Julian, who intended to fortify ſeveral places belonging to the ſtate.

nations; and ſuch who read the wars of Beliſarius with the Goths, will ſee a general very frequently diſobeyed by his officers.

Sylla and Sertorius amidſt the fury of civil wars would rather die than connive at any thing from whence Mithridates might derive the leaſt advantage; but in the ſucceeding times, when a miniſter * or any grandee imagined it would be favourable to his avarice, his revenge, or ambition to admit the Barbarians into the empire, he immediately permitted them to give a looſe to their depredations.

No ſtates are more neceſſitated for tributes than thoſe which are weak, becauſe this circumſtance obliges them to augment their charges in proportion to the people's inability to defray them; and therefore the tributes in the Roman provinces became inſupportable.

It would not be improper to read Salvian's † account of the horrible exactions that were made upon the people. The citizens were ſo harraſſed by the farmers of the revenue, that they were obliged either to ſeek refuge among the

* This was not to be wondered at in that mixture of nations, who had been uſed to a wandring life, and had no knowledge of any country of their own, ſince entire bodies of them would frequently ſide with the enemy who had conquered them, even againſt their own nation. See Procopius's account of the Goths under Vitiges.

† See his whole fifth book, *De Gubernatione Dei*. See alſo in the account of the Embaſſy written by Priſcus, the ſpeech of a Roman who had ſettled among the Huns, on his happineſs in that country.

Barbarians,

Barbarians, or ſurrender their liberty to the firſt of their inſatiable countrymen who would accept of ſuch a preſent.

This may account for the relations we find in our French hiſtory, of the patience with which the Gauls ſupported a revolution calculated to eſtabliſh that ſhocking diſtinction between a gallant nation, and a community of ſervile wretches; I ſay, between a nation who retained their liberty and military privileges, and an ignoble body of people. The Barbarians, in making ſo many citizens ſlaves to till the earth, that is, the country to which they were attached, introduced no ſervices which were not more cruelly exacted before *.

CHAP. XIX.

Some Particulars of the Grandeur of Attila. *The eſtabliſhment of the Barbarians accounted for. Reaſons why the weſtern Empire was overturned, before that in the Eaſt.*

AS chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed when the empire was in a declining condition, the profeſſors of this religion reproached the Pagans for that decay, and theſe retorted the charge on the religious doctrines of their antagoniſts. The chriſtians replied, that Diocleſian † ruined the empire, by aſſociating his three collegues; becauſe each emperor would be altogether as ex-

* See Salvian, lib. v. and the laws of the Code, and the Digeſt on them.

† Lactantius, *De morte perſecutor.*

penſive,

penſive, and maintained as great armies as could have ſubſiſted had there been but one ſovereign; in conſequence of which, thoſe who furniſhed the contributions being unequally proportioned to the number of the receivers, the charge became ſo exceſſive, that the lands were forſaken by the huſbandmen, and for want of cultivation lay waſte, and were covered with wild and barren foreſts.

The Pagans, on the other hand, were perpetually exclaiming againſt the ſtrange innovations in religion, introduced by their adverſaries and never heard of till thoſe days. And as the overflowings of the Tyber, and other prejudicial effects of nature, were, in the flouriſhing ſtate of Rome, aſcribed to the diſpleaſure of the Gods; ſo the calamities of declining Rome were imputed to a religious novelty, and the ſubverſion of the ancient altars.

Symmachus the prefect, in a letter * to the emperors, relating to the altar of Victory, attacked the chriſtian religion with arguments extremely popular, and conſequently very ſeducing, and had art enough to ſet them off with all the plauſibility invention could furniſh.

" What circumſtance, ſays he, can lead us more effectually to the knowledge of the Gods, than the experience of our former proſperity? We ought to be faithful to ſuch a ſeries of ages, and purſue the ſame track in which our fathers ſo happily followed their anceſtors. Imagine

* Letter of Symmach. lib. x. 4.

Rome

Rone herſelf ſpeaks to you in this manner: O imperial princes! Compaſſionate fathers of your country! Look with eyes of veneration on thoſe years of mine, wherein I always conformed to the ceremonies of my predeceſſors. Thoſe ſacred inſtitutions have made the univerſe obedient to my laws. Theſe were the allies that chaſed Hannibal from my walls, and drove the Gauls in confuſion from the capitol. We fervently aſk peace for the Gods of our country, nay, we ſollicit it in the anguiſh of our ſouls, for our compatriot Deities! We have no inclination to engage in diſputes which are only proper for idle perſons, and we would expreſs ourſelves in the language of ſupplication, and not of war."

Symmachus was anſwered by three celebrated authors. Oroſius compoſed his hiſtory to prove there had always been calamities in the world, as great as thoſe complained of by the Pagans. Salvian likewiſe writ his book *, wherein he maintains, that the ravages of the Barbarians were to be imputed to the degenerate behaviour of the chriſtians: and St. Auſtin † demonſtrates, that the city of heaven is very different from that city on earth, in which the ancient Romans received, for a few human virtues, a recompence as vain as the virtues themſelves.

We have already obſerved, that part of the politics of the ancient Romans conſiſted in dividing all the powers that gave them any umbrage; but that ſcheme was defeated in af-

* Of God's government. † Of the city of God.

ter

ter times, and Rome could not prevent Attila from conquering all the northern nations: he extended his victories from the Danube to the Rhine, demoliſhed all the forts and military works on the banks of thoſe rivers, and made both the empires tributary.

Theodoſius, ſays he *, with an inſolent air, is deſcended from a father as noble as mine; but the moment I compelled him to pay tribute to me, he fell from the grandeur of his extraction, and became my vaſſal; and therefore 'tis unjuſt in him to act like a baſe ſlave, and endeavour to prejudice his maſter by treachery.

" An emperor, ſaid he, upon another occaſion, ought not to be a liar; he promiſed one of my ſubjects to give him the daughter of Saturninus in marriage; and I will immediately declare war againſt him, if he preſumes to depart from his word; but if the diſobedience of thoſe about him put it out of his power to be punctual, I will march to his aſſiſtance."

It is not to be imagined that Attila was induced by any moderation and lenity of temper, to let the Romans ſubſiſt; he only conformed himſelf to the genius of his nation, which prompted them to awe, and not to conquer foreign ſtates. This prince retiring from the ſplendor of majeſty to his manſion built of wood, according to the repreſentation of Priſcus †,

* Hiſtory of the Goths, and relation of the embaſſy written by Priſcus. This emperor was Theodoſius the younger.

† Hiſtory of the Goths. *Hæ ſedes regis barbariem totam*

though

though at the ſame time he was lord of all the barbarous nations, and in ſome degree maſter of the chief part of thoſe who were civilized *, was one of the greateſt monarchs recorded in hiſtory.

Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to his court, both from the eaſtern and weſtern empires of the Romans, to receive his laws and implore his favour. Sometimes he commanded them to deliver up the Huns who had deſerted from his armies, or the Roman ſlaves who had eſcaped from the vigilance of his officers. At other times he would not be ſatisfied till ſome miniſter of the emperor was ſurrendered into his power. He charged the empire of the eaſt with a tribute of two hundred thouſand pounds of gold; he received the yearly ſum allowed to a Roman general, and ſent thoſe he intended to reward to Conſtantinople, that they might be gratified to their utmoſt wiſh, making by this means a conſtant traffic of the apprehenſions of the Romans.

He was feared by his ſubjects †, but we have no reaſon to believe they entertained any averſion to his perſon: he was ſurprizingly fierce

tenentis; hæc captis civitatibus habitacula præponebat. This was the manſion in which the monarch of all the Barbarian nations reſided; this the habitation which he preferred to the ſtately cities he had conquered. Jornandes, *De rebus Geticis.*

* It appears by the account given by Priſcus, that the court of Attila had ſome thoughts of ſubjecting even the Perſians.

† Jornandes and Priſcus have drawn the character of this prince, and deſcribed the manners of his court.

and

and impetuous, and at the ſame time exceeding politic and artful. He appeared violent in his rage, but had a ſufficient preſence of mind to know when to pardon an offence, or defer a puniſhment, as the circumſtances were more or leſs agreeable to his intereſt. War was never his choice, when he could derive ſufficient advantages from peace. He was faithfully ſerved even by the kings who were ſubordinate to his power; and had collected into his own conduct all the ancient ſimplicity of the northern manners. In a word, we can never ſufficiently admire this gallant ſovereign of a people, whoſe very children were warmed with enthuſiaſtic rage, at the relation of their father's bravery; whilſt thoſe fathers ſhed manly tears, becauſe they were incapacitated by age to imitate their martial children.

All the Barbarian nations, after his death, were divided into ſeveral independent bodies; but the Romans were then ſo weak, that the moſt inconſiderable people were in a condition to moleſt them.

The empire was not ruined by any particular invaſion, but ſunk gradually under the weight of the ſeveral attacks made upon it, after that general aſſault it ſuſtained in the time of Gallus. It ſeemed indeed, to be re-eſtabliſhed, becauſe none of its territories were diſmembred from the main body; but it was ſtooping to its fall by ſeveral degrees of declenſion, till it was at once laid low in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius.

In

In vain did the Romans chaſe the Barbarians from their ſettlements in the empire; that people, without any compulſion, would have retired, to depoſite their ſpoils in their own country. With as little ſucceſs did Rome endeavour to exterminate that nation, ſince her cities were ſtill ſacked *, her villages conſumed with flames, and her families either ſlaughtered or diſperſed.

When one province had been waſted, the Barbarians, who ſucceeded the firſt ravagers, meeting nothing for their purpoſe, proceeded to another. Their devaſtations at firſt were limited to Thrace, Myſia, and Pannonia; and when theſe countries were ruined, they deſtroyed Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Greece; from thence they expatiated to Noricum. The empire, that is to ſay, thoſe tracts of land which were not depopulated, was continually ſhrinking, and Italy at laſt became the frontiers.

The reaſon why the Barbarians eſtabliſhed themſelves in no fixed ſettlements in the reigns of Gallus and Gallienus, was, becauſe the countries about them had ſomething left that was worth plundering.

Thus the Normans, who in ſome meaſure reſembled the conquerors of the empire, ravaged France for ſeveral centuries, and when at laſt they could find no more booty, they thought

* The Goths were a very deſtructive nation, they deſtroyed all the huſbandmen in Thrace, and cut off the hands of every charioteer. Byzantine hiſtory of Malchus, in the extract of the embaſſies.

fit to accept of a depopulated province, and parcelled it into * ſeveral properties.

Scythia, in thoſe times, lying waſte and uncultivated †, the inhabitants were frequently ſubject to famine, and ſubſiſted in a great meaſure by their commerce with the Romans ‡, who furniſhed them with proviſions from the provinces bordering on the Danube. The Barbarians in return gave them the booty and priſoners they had taken, and the gold and ſilver which the Romans paid them for their friendſhip. But when the empire could no longer afford them a ſufficient tribute for their ſubſiſtence ‖, they were obliged to fix themſelves in ſome ſettlement.

* See in the chronicles, collected by Andrew du Cheſne, the condition of this province, towards the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Script. Norman. Hiſt. Veteres.

† The Goths, as we have intimated, did not cultivate their lands.

The Vandals called them Trulli, which was the name of a ſmall meaſure, becauſe they once ſold them ſuch a meaſure of corn very dear, in a famine. Olimpiodor. in Biblioth. Phot. lib. xxx.

‡ Priſcus relates in his hiſtory, that markets were eſtabliſhed by treaties on the banks of the Danube.

‖ When the Goths ſent to deſire Zeno to receive Theuderic the ſon of Triarius into his alliance, on the terms accorded by him to Theuderic the ſon of Balamer, the ſenate being conſulted on this occaſion, ſaid, the revenues of the empire were not ſufficient to ſupport two Gothic nations, and that the alliance of only one of them was to be conſented to. Malchus's hiſtory, in the extract of the embaſſies.

The

The weſtern empire was deſtroyed before that in the eaſt, for theſe reaſons.

When the Barbarians paſſed the Danube, they found themſelves blocked up on the left-hand by the Boſphorus of Thrace, the city of Conſtantinople, and all the forces of the eaſtern empire. This made it neceſſary for them to bend their march to the right towards Illyria, and ſo proceed weſtward. That part of the country was crowded with a vaſt conflux of ſeveral nations; and, as the paſſages into Aſia were the beſt guarded, the whole body of the people bore with a full tide into Europe, whereas the forces of the Barbarians were ſeparated in their firſt invaſion.

The empire being parcelled out into two great portions *, the eaſtern emperors who were then in alliance with the Barbarians †, would not break it to aſſiſt the princes of the weſt: this diviſion of the adminiſtration, ſays Priſcus ‡, was very prejudicial to the affairs of the Weſt. Thus the Romans of the eaſt, refuſed thoſe of the weſt, a naval armament ‖, becauſe they had entered into alliance with the Vandals. The Viſigoths, in conjunction with Arcadius, made an irruption into the weſt, and Honorius § was

* This partition of the empire was very prejudicial to the affairs of the weſtern Romans. Priſcus, lib. ii.

† Honorius was informed, that the Viſigoths had made a deſcent into the weſtern empire, after an alliance with Arcadius. Procop. Of the Vandal war.

‡ Lib. ii. ‖ Priſcus, ibid.

§ Procopius, in his war with the Vandal.

obliged to fly to Ravenna: laſtly, Zeno, to get rid of Theodoric, perſuaded him to fall upon Italy, which had been already laid waſte by Alaric.

There was a very ſtrict alliance * between Attila, and Genſeric, king of the Vandals. The laſt ſtood in fear of the Goths †; he had married his ſon to a daughter of their king; and afterwards ſlitting her noſe, had ſent her back to her father. For which reaſon he united with Attila. The two empires enſlaved by theſe two potentates, had no power to ſhake off their chains. The ſituation of that of the weſt was more particularly deplorable: it had no forces at ſea ‡, they being all diſperſed in Egypt, Cyprus, Phœnicia, Ionia, and Greece, the only countries where at that time commerce ſubſiſted. The Vandals and other nations attacked the weſt from all ſides: an embaſſy came from Italy to Conſtantinople, ſays Priſcus ‖, repreſenting that it was impoſſible they ſhould keep their ground, unleſs peace was made with the Vandals.

Thoſe that preſided in the weſt were not miſtaken in their politics. They judged it neceſſary to ſave Italy, which was in ſome reſpects the head, and in others the heart of the empire. They removed the Barbarians to the extremities,

* Priſcus, lib. ii.

† See Jornandes, *De rebus Geticis*, c. xxxvi.

‡ This appeared more eſpecially in the war between Conſtantinus and Licinius.

‖ Priſcus, lib. ii.

and

and ſettled them there. The ſign was well laid, and as well executed. Theſe nations aſked for nothing but ſubſiſtence: they gave them the plains, and reſerving to themſelves the mountainous parts of the country, the defiles, the paſſes over rivers, and the ſtrong forts upon them, they kept in their own hands the ſovereignty. It is probable theſe people would have been forced to have become Romans; and the facility with which theſe ravagers were themſelves deſtroyed by the Franks, by the Greeks, and the Moors, is a proof of this conjecture. This whole ſyſtem was overthrown by one revolution more fatal than all the reſt: the army of Italy, compoſed of ſtrangers, demanded that which had been granted to nations ſtill greater ſtrangers: it formed, under Odoacer, an ariſtocraſy, which claimed the thirds of the lands in Italy; and this was the moſt fatal blow to the empire.

Amongſt ſo many misfortunes it is natural to enquire, with a melancholy curioſity, after the fate of Rome: it was, we may ſay, without defence, and could eaſily be ſtarved by an enemy. The extent of its walls made it almoſt impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was ſituated in a plain, it might be ſtormed without much difficulty. Beſides this, no recruits were to be expected; for the number of people was ſo extremely diminiſhed, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna, a city once fortify'd by the ſea, as Venice is at this time.

The Romans being generally abandoned by their princes, began to take the ſovereign power into their own hands, and ſtipulated for their ſafety by treaties *, which is the moſt likely method of acquiring the ſupreme authority †.

Armorica and Brittany, ſeeing themſelves forſaken, began to regulate themſelves by their own laws.

This was the fatal period of the weſtern empire. Rome aſcended to ſuch a height of grandeur, becauſe the ſcenes of her former wars opened ſucceſſively, and by an incredible felicity of affairs ſhe was never attacked by one nation till another had been firſt deſtroyed; but Rome itſelf was overpowered at laſt, becauſe ſhe was invaded at once by all the nations around her.

CHAP. XX.

The Conqueſts of Juſtinian. *Some Account of his Government.*

AS this vaſt body of people broke all at once like a flood into the empire, they mutually incommoded one another, and all the politics of thoſe times conſiſted in ſetting them at variance together: This was a circumſtance eaſy to accompliſh, their avarice and fierce diſ-

* In the time of Honorius, Alaric, who beſieged Rome, obliged that city to enter into an alliance with him, even againſt the emperor, who was in no condition to oppoſe it, Procop. War of the Goths, lib. i. Zozim. lib. vi.

† Zozim. lib. vi.

poſition

poſition greatly contributing to make it practicable. The largeſt part of them was therefore deſtroyed before they could fix themſelves in any ſettlement; and this was the reaſon why the empire of the eaſt ſtill ſubſiſted for ſome time.

The northern regions were likewiſe exhauſted at laſt, and no longer poured out thoſe innumerable armies they originally produced; for after the firſt invaſion by the Goths and Huns, and eſpecially ſince the death of Atila, theſe people and their ſucceſſors appeared in the field with force much inferior to the former in number.

When the nations, who aſſembled together in the form of an army, were diſtributed into peaceful partitions of lands, much of their martial vivacity was abated; and as they were ſcattered through the countries they had conquered, they were expoſed themſelves to the ſame invaſions.

In this ſituation of affairs, Juſtinian undertook the recovery of Africa and Italy, and accompliſhed the ſame deſigns which the French ſo happily executed againſt the Viſigoths, the Burgundians, the Lombards and the Saracens.

When Chriſtianity was firſt planted among the Barbarians, the Arian ſect was predominant in the empire, and Valens ſent prieſts to them, who were their firſt apoſtles. Now, in the interval, from their converſion to their eſtabliſhment, this ſect fell into diſreputation among the Romans; for which reaſons, when the Bar-

barians of this perſuaſion found all the country orthodox, and could never inſinuate themſelves into the affections of the people, it was eaſy for the emperors to incommode them.

We may likewiſe add, that the Barbarians being unqualified for the ſiege of towns, and much more ſo for their defence, ſuffered the walls to drop into ruins. Procopius informs us, that Beliſarius found all the Italian cities in this condition; and thoſe of Africa had already been diſmantled by Genſeric *, with a Gothic view of fortifying the inhabitants.

The generality of theſe northern people, after they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the provinces of the ſouth, ſoon degenerated into the unmanly ſoftneſs of thoſe regions, and became incapable of the fatigues of war †. The Vandals were emaſculated with pleaſures; a luxuriant table, an effeminate habit, the delicacy of baths, the enervating lull of muſic, gay dances, florid gardens, and ſplendid theatres were now become their neceſſary gratifications.

They no longer diſquieted the Romans ‡, ſays Malchus ‖, when they diſcontinued thoſe armies which Genſeric perpetually kept prepared for any expedition, and with which he prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and aſtoniſhed all the world with the rapidity of his enterprizes.

* Procop. war of the Vandals, lib. i.
† Procop. war of the Vandals, lib. ii.
‡ In the time of Honorius.
‖ Byzantine hiſtory, in the extract of the embaſſies.

The

The cavalry of the Romans, and that of the Huns their auxilaries, were very expert at drawing the bow; but that of the Goths * and Vandals fought only with the ſword and lance, and were unpractiſed in the diſtant combat; for which reaſon Beliſarius aſcribes part of his ſucceſs to this difference †.

Juſtinian received ſignal ſervices from the Huns, a people from whom the Parthians ſprung, and theſe deſcendants combated like their anceſtors. When the Huns loſt all their power by the diviſions which the great number of Attila's children occaſioned, they ſerved the Romans in the quality of auxiliaries, and formed their beſt cavalry.

Each of theſe barbarous nations ‡ was diſtinguiſhed by their particular manner of combating as well as by their arms. The Goths and Vandals were formidable at the drawn ſword; the Huns were admirable bowmen; the Suevi were ſerviceable infantry; the Alans were heavily armed; and the Heruli were a flying troop. The Romans ſelected from all theſe people, the

* See Procopius's hiſt. of the wars of the Vandals, lib. i. and his war of the Goths, lib. i. The Gothic bowmen fought on foot, and were but indifferently diſciplined.

† The Romans, having ſuffered their infantry to be weakened, placed all their force in the horſe, and the more ſo becauſe they were obliged to ſpring ſuddenly to every part to check the incurſions of the Barbarians.

‡ A remarkable paſſage of Jornandes tells us all theſe diſcriminating circumſtances, having occaſion to mention the battle between the Gepidæ and the ſons of Attila.

different bodies of troops which were ſerviceable to their deſigns, and fought againſt one nation with the joint advantage of all the reſt.

It is remarkable, that the weakeſt nations have been thoſe that made the greateſt eſtabliſhments; we ſhould be much deceived, if we judged of their force by their conqueſts. In this long train of irruptions, the Barbarians, or rather the ſwarms which iſſued from them, were vanquiſhers or vanquiſhed; every thing depended on circumſtances: and while one great nation was defeated or engaged, a body of new adventurers finding a country open, carried deſolation into it. The Goths, who by reaſon of the diſadvantage of their arms, were obliged to fly before ſo many nations ſettled in Italy, Gaul, and Spain: the Vandals, too weak to keep their poſſeſſion in Spain, paſſed into Africa, where they founded a great empire.

Juſtinian could not fit out more than fifty ſhips againſt the Vandals; and when Beliſarius embarked, he had but five thouſand ſoldiers. This was undoubtedly a bold expedition; and Leo, who before that time had ſent againſt the ſame people a fleet of all the ſhips in the eaſt, and manned with a hundred thouſand ſoldiers, could not conquer Africa, and was even in danger of loſing the whole empire.

Theſe great fleets have been as little ſucceſsful as very numerous land armies; for as they impoveriſh and unpeople a ſtate, ſo, ſhould the expedition be of a conſiderable length, or any misfortune

misfortune befall them, they can neither be ſuccoured nor recruited; and if one part be loſt, the other becomes inſignificant; becauſe ſhips of war, as well as tranſports, cavalry, infantry, ammunition, in a word all the particulars, have a neceſſary dependance on the whole. The tardineſs of an enterprize makes thoſe who engage in it always find the enemy prepared to receive them: beſides, ſuch an expedition is ſeldom made in a proper ſeaſon, and generally overtaken by the ſtormy months, becauſe ſuch a vaſt number of preparations are hardly ever compleated till the ſeaſon is too far advanced.

Beliſarius invaded Africa, and very advantageouſly ſupplied himſelf with proviſions from Sicily, in conſequence of a treaty made with Amalaſonta queen of the Goths. When he was ſent to attack Italy, he took notice that the Goths received their ſubſiſtence from Sicily, and therefore began his expedition with the conqueſt of that iſland; by which proceeding he at the ſame time ſtarved his enemies, and plentifully ſupplied his own army with all accommodations.

Beliſarius took Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna, and ſent the kings of the Goths and Vandals captives to Conſtantinople, where the ancient triumphs were renewed after a long interval of Years *.

The extraordinary qualities of this great man †, naturally account for his ſucceſs. A

* Juſtinian only granted him a triumph for Africa.

† See Suidas under the article Beliſarius.

general,

general, who was maſter of all the maxims of the firſt Romans, was then at the head of ſuch an army as that brave people anciently compoſed.

Virtues that are very ſhining are generally concealed or loſt in ſervitude; but the tyrannical government of Juſtinian could not oppreſs the grandeur of that ſoul, nor the noble ſuperiority of ſuch a genius.

Narſes the eunuch was thrown into this reign to make it ſtill more illuſtrious: as he had received his education in the palace, he was honoured with a greater ſhare of the emperor's confidence; for princes always eſteem their courtiers the moſt faithful of their ſubjects.

On the other hand, the irregular conduct of Juſtinian, his profuſions, tyranny, and rapine, his intoxicated fondneſs for building, changing, and reforming, his inconſtancy in his deſigns, a ſevere and weak reign, made ſtill more incommodious by a lingring old age, were a train of real calamities, intermixed with unprofitable ſucceſs, and a falſe glitter of unſubſtantial glory.

Theſe victories were not the effect of any ſolid power ſubſiſting in the empire, but reſulted from the lucky conjunction of ſome particular circumſtances, and were ſoon rendered ineffectual; for whilſt the army was purſuing its fortunate beginnings, a new ſwarm of barbarous nations paſſed the Danube, and ſpread deſolation through Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece, and the Perſians,

in

in four invaſions, weakened the empire with incurable wounds *

The more rapid theſe conqueſts appeared, the leſs durable was their foundation; and Italy and Africa were hardly wreſted from the enemy, before it became neceſſary to recover them a ſecond time by new victories.

Juſtinian had taken from the theatre a † woman who had long proſtituted herſelf to immodeſt pleaſures, and ſhe governed him with an authority that has no parallel in hiſtory, perpetually intermixing his affairs with the paſſions and fanciful inconſiſtences of her ſex; in conſequence of which, ſhe defeated the victorious progreſs of his arms, and diſconcerted the moſt favourable events.

The eaſtern people were always accuſtomed to a plurality of wives, in order to deprive the ſex of that ſtrange aſcendant they maintain over man in our climates; but at Conſtantinople the prohibition of Polygamy made the empire ſubject to the will of a female, or, in other words, threw a natural weakneſs into the government.

The people of Conſtantinople had for many years been divided into two factions, denominated the Blue and the Green: they derived their original from the approbation uſually given in the threatres to ſome particular actors; and when races were exhibited in the circus, the

* The two empires ravaged each other the more, becauſe they had no hopes of ſecuring their conqueſts.

† The empreſs Theodora.

charioteers,

charioteers, who were dreſſed in green, diſputed the prize with thoſe who were habited in blue; and each of theſe ſpectators became intereſted even to madneſs, in the competition of thoſe colours.

Theſe two factions being diffuſed through all the cities of the empire proportioned their animoſities to the rank and grandeur of thoſe cities, or, as we may juſtly ſay, to the indolence and idle lives of the generality of the people.

But though ſuch divſions are always neceſſary in a republic, and may be conſidered as eſſential to its ſupport, they are infallibly deſtructive to an arbitrary government, becauſe they can only change the perſon of the ſovereign, but never contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the laws, or the diſcontinuance of abuſes.

Juſtinian, who favoured the faction of the Blue *, and denied all juſtice to the Green, increaſed the mutual inveteracy of both parties, and conſequently ſtrengthened them in the ſtate.

Theſe contending parties proceeding ſo far as even to diſannul the authority of the magiſtrates: the blues were in no apprehenſion of the laws, becauſe the emperor protected them againſt their ſeverity; and the Greens † began to diſ-

* This political diſtemper was of ancient date, for Suetonius tells us, that Caligula, becauſe he was attached to the Green faction, hated the people who applauded the other.

† The reader may form a good idea of the ſpirit of thoſe regard

regard them, becauſe they could not defend them from inſults.

All the bands of friendſhip, affinity, and gratitude were cut aſunder, and whole families deſtroyed each other: every villain, who intended to be remarkably wicked, belonging to the faction of the Blue, and every man, who was either robbed or aſſaſſinated, was a partiſan for the Green.

We may add, that the government was, if poſſible, more cruel than ſenſeleſs, and the emperor, not ſatisfied with the general injuſtice of loading his ſubjects with exceſſive impoſitions, reſolved to ruin them in their private affairs by all imaginable tyrannies.

I am far from entertaining an implicit belief of all the particulars related by Procopius in his ſecret hiſtory, becauſe the pompous commendations he, in his other works, beſtows on this prince, may make his veracity a little queſtionable in this, where he paints him out as the moſt ſtupid and inhuman tyrant that ever lived.

On the other hand, there are two circumſtances which incline me to pay ſome regard to this ſecret hiſtory; for in the firſt place, the particulars ſeem better connected with the aſtoniſhing weakneſs which diſcovered itſelf at the latter end of this reign, and in thoſe of the ſucceeding emperors.

times, by conſulting Theophanes, who relates a long converſation in the threatre between the emperor and the Greens.

The

The other circumſtance is that monument, which ſtill exiſts among us, and is a collection of the laws of this emperor, which, in the courſe of a few years, preſent us with greater variations than are to be found in our laws for the three laſt centuries of our monarchy.

Theſe variations * generally relate to matters of ſo little importance, that we can ſee no reaſons to induce a legiſlator to make them, unleſs we refer to the Secret hiſtory for a ſolution, and acknowledge that this prince expoſed his judgments and his laws equally to ſale.

But the political ſtate of the government received the greateſt injury from his project of eſtabliſhing a general uniformity of opinion in matters of religion, and in circumſtances that rendered his zeal as indiſcreet as poſſible.

The ancient Romans fortified their empire by indulging all ſorts of religious worſhip; but their poſterity deſtroyed it by rooting out the various ſects, whoſe doctrines were not predominant.

Theſe ſects were compoſed of entire nations, ſome of which, as the the Jews and Samaritans, had retained their ancient religion after they were conquered by the Romans; others were diſperſed through the country, as the followers of Montanus, in Phrygia, the Manichees, the Sabbatarians, the Arians, in the other provinces; beſides which, the generality of the people in the country continued in idolatry, and were in-

* See the Inſtitutes of Juſtinian.

fatuated

fatuated with a religion as groſs as their underſtandings.

Theſe ſects Juſtinian cauſed to be extirpated, by the military as well as the civil power; and the perſecuted people, revolting in their own defence, he thought himſelf obliged to exterminate them from the empire; in conſequence of which, he depopulated ſeveral provinces, and whilſt he imagined himſelf increaſing the number of the faithful, he was only diminiſhing the race of mankind.

Procopius aſſures us, that Paleſtine, by the deſtruction of the Samaritans, was changed into a deſert; and this proceeding was the more ſingular, becauſe, the very zeal which weakened the empire, in order to eſtabliſh religion, ſprung out of the ſame quarter from whence the Arabians afterwards ſallied with an intention to ſubvert it.

But nothing could be more aggravating, than that the emperor, whilſt he was ſo averſe to all toleration himſelf, ſhould yet diſagree with the empreſs in the moſt eſſential points; he followed the council of Chalcedon, and ſhe favoured its oppoſers; whether, as Evagrius ſays *, they were ſincere in this proceeding or not, is uncertain.

When we read Procopius's deſcription of Juſtinian's buildings, and the forts and other places of defence he erected in all parts, it naturally raiſes in our minds the idea of a flouriſhing ſtate; but that idea happens to be very deluſive.

* Lib. iv. c. 10.

The ancient Romans had none of theſe fortifications, but placed all their ſecurity in their armies, which they diſtributed along the banks of rivers, and raiſed towers at proper diſtances for the lodgment of the ſoldiers.

Afterwards indeed, when they had but very indifferent armies, and frequently none at all, the frontiers * could not defend the countries they limited, and therefore it became neceſſary to ſtrengthen them; the conſequence of which was, they had more fortifications, and leſs force; many places for retreat, and very few for ſecurity; the country was only habitable about the fortifications, and theſe were built in all parts. The condition of the empire reſembled that of France, in the time of the † Normans, which was never ſo defenceleſs as when all its villages were girt round with walls.

We may venture to affirm therefore, that the whole catalogue of Juſtinian's forts, which fills ſeveral pages in Procopius, only exhibits to us

* Auguſtus eſtabliſhed nine ſuch frontiers, the number of which encreaſed in the following reigns, when the Barbarians began to appear in ſeveral parts; and Dion. lib. lv. ſays, that, in his time, when Alexander was emperor, there were thirty, as appears by the Notitia Imperii, written ſince the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius: there were fifteen even in the eaſtern empire, and the number was perputually increaſing. Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Piſidia were made frontiers, and the whole empire was covered with fortifications, till at laſt Aurelian was obliged to fortify Rome itſelf.

† And the Engliſh.

ſo

ſo many monuments of the weakneſs of the empire.

CHAP. XXI.

Diſorders in the Eaſtern Empire.

THE Perſians, during this period, were in a much happier ſituation than the Romans; they had little reaſon to be apprehenſive of the northern people *, becauſe that part of mount Taurus which extends between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas ſeparated them from thoſe nations, and they effectually ſhut up a very narrow paſs †, which was the only practicable avenue for the cavalry; in every other part the Barbarians were obliged to deſcend from frightful precipices ‡ and to quit their horſes in which all their military ſtrength conſiſted; and beſides theſe impediments they were blocked in by the Araxes, a river of great depth, and which flows from weſt to eaſt, all the paſſages of which were eaſy to be defended.

With all theſe advantages the Perſians were in perfect tranquillity with reſpect to the eaſtern nations; on the ſouth they were bounded by the ſea; and the Arabian princes, who were partly their allies, and partly in confederacy with the Romans, were totally engaged in pillaging one another. The Perſians therefore had none whom they could properly call their enemies but

* The Huns.

† Called the Caſpian Streights.

‡ Procopius of the Perſian war, lib. i.

the Romans. We are ſenſible, ſaid an ambaſſador of Hormiſdas *, that the Romans are engaged in ſeveral wars, and are at variance with almoſt all nations, whilſt we, as they well know, have no hoſtilities with any people but themſelves.

The Perſians had cultivated the military art to as great a degree as it was neglected by the Romans. Belizarius ſaid to his ſoldiers, The Perſians are not your ſuperiors in courage, and only ſurpaſs you in the diſcipline of war.

They had likewiſe the ſame ſuperiority in the cabinet as they preſerved in the field, and demanded tribute of the Romans, under a pretence that they maintained garriſons in the Caſpian ſtreights, as if each nation had not a right to guard its frontiers. They obliged them to pay for peace, and every ceſſation of arms; and did not ſcruple to make them purchaſe the very time employed either in negociations, or war.

The Avari having croſſed the Danube, the Romans, who had ſeldom any troops to oppoſe them, being engaged againſt the Perſians when they ſhould have given battle to the Avari, and having full employment from theſe when they ought to have faced the Perſians, were ſtill obliged to ſubmit to a tribute; and thus the majeſty of the empire bowed down before all nations.

JUSTIN, TIBERIUS, and MAURICE were very ſedulous to defend the empire; the laſt of theſe princes had ſome virtues, but they were all ſul-

* Menander's ambaſſies.

lied

lied by an avarice almoſt incredible in a great monarch.

The king of the Avari offered to reſtore all his Roman priſoners to Maurice, if he would ranſom them at an inconſiderable price for each man; and this propoſal being rejected, he cauſed them all to be inhumanly murdered. The Roman army was greatly exaſperated at this proceeding, and the faction of the Greens making an inſurrection at the ſame time, a centurion nam'd PHOCAS was raiſed to the imperial dignity, and he ordered Maurice and his children to be put to death.

The hiſtory of the Grecian empire, for ſo we ſhall denominate the monarchy of the Romans for the future, is little more than a ſeries of revolts, ſeditions, and perfidy. The ſubjects had no idea of the loyalty due to princes, and there were ſo many interruptions in the ſucceſſion of the emperors, that the title of Porphyrogenitus, which ſignifies one born in the apartment where the empreſs repoſed, was an appellation which few princes of the ſeveral imperial families could with any propriety aſſume.

All the paths that could be ſtruck out to empire were unexceptionable; and the candidates were conducted to the diadem by the clergy, the ſenate, the peaſants, the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, and the people of the provincial cities.

Chriſtianity being now the prevailing religion of the empire, was intermixed with ſeveral ſuc-

ceſſive hereſies, which called aloud for condemnation. Arius having denied the divinity of the WORD; the Macedonians that of the HOLY SPIRIT; Neſtorius the unity of the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt; the Eutychians his two natures; the Monothelites his two wills; it became neceſſary to convene councils againſt them: but their deciſions not being univerſally received, ſeveral emperors, who had been ſeduced into theſe heretical opinions, relapſed into the ſame perſuaſions after they had been condemned; and as no nation was ever ſo implacable againſt heretics as the Greeks, who even imagined themſelves polluted when they converſed with any of that claſs, or had any cohabitation with them, ſeveral emperors, in conſequence of that popular averſion, loſt the affections of their ſubjects, and the people became perſuaded that princes who were ſo frequently rebellious againſt God, could never be choſen by providence to be their ſovereigns.

A new opinion, formed by an idea that it was unlawful to ſhed chriſtian blood, and which daily grew more popular when the Mohammedans appeared upon the ſtage of military action, was the cauſe that offences, in which religion was not directly intereſted, were puniſhed with great moderation. Thoſe who had ſpirited up an inſurrection, or framed any attempt againſt the perſon of the prince, were only ſentenced to loſe their eyes, to have their hair or noſes cut off, or to ſuffer ſome other mutilation. As theſe offences

offences might be committed with very little hazard, they might likewiſe be attempted without much courage *.

A certain veneration for the regalia of imperial majeſty drew the eyes of all the people on thoſe who preſumed to wear them, and it was criminal to be either habited in purple, or to keep it in a ward-robe; but when a man had once the reſolution to appear in that dreſs, the multitude immediately flocked after him, becauſe their reſpect was more attached to the apparel than the perſon.

Ambition received greater provocatives ſtill, from the ſurprizing infatuation of thoſe times; and there was hardly a man of any conſiderable conſequence who could not accommodate to himſelf ſome prediction that promiſed him the empire.

As the indiſpoſitions of the mind are generally incurable †, judicial aſtrology, and the art of pointing out futurity by objects, ſeen in a baſon of water, ſucceeded among the chriſtians, to the ſolemn impoſture of divination by the entrails of victims, or the flight of birds, which had been aboliſhed with paganiſm its parent; and vain promiſes became the motives to moſt of the

* Zeno greatly contributed to this mean relaxation of juſtice. See the Byzantine hiſtory of Malchus, cited in the extracts of the embaſſies.

† See the life of Andronicus Comnenus, compiled by Nicetas.

raſh actions of particular perſons, and conſtituted the wiſdom of princes councils.

The calamities of the empire daily increaſing, it was natural to impute ill ſucceſs in war, and diſhonourable treaties in peace, to the injudicious conduct of thoſe at the helm.

One revolution was now pregnant with another, and the effect itſelf became a cauſe: and as the Greeks had ſeen ſuch a ſucceſſion of different families on the throne, they were not devoted to any; and ſince fortune had created ſo many emperors out of all claſſes of people, no birth was ſo obſcure, and no merit ſo inconſiderable as to be deſtitute of hope.

Several examples which had been familiar to the nation, modelled the genius of the people in general, and formed a ſyſtem of manners which reigned as imperiouſly as the laws.

It ſhould ſeem that great enterprizes, among us, are more impracticable than they were to the ancients; it is very difficult to conceal them, becauſe intelligence is now become ſo manageable, that every prince has miniſters in each court, and traitors may poſſibly be lurking in all the cabinets of majeſty.

The invention of poſts has given wings to information, and can immediately waft it to all parts.

As great undertakings are not to be accompliſhed without money, and as merchants are maſters of it ſince the invention of bills of exchange; their affairs are always connected with

the

the ſecrets of ſtate, and they neglect nothing to penetrate into thoſe depths.

The fluctuations in exchange, without any viſible cauſe, entice numbers of people to ſearch after it, and ſome of them find it at laſt to their coſt.

The invention of printing, which has put books into the hands of all the world; the improvements in engraving, which have made geographic charts ſo common; in a word, the eſtabliſhment of political papers, give every individual a knowledge of the general intereſts, ſufficient enough to inſtruct him in all the private tranſactions.

Conſpiracies in a ſtate are now become very difficult, becauſe, ſince the eſtabliſhment of poſts, all the ſecrets of particular perſons are in the power of the public.

Princes may act with promptitude, becauſe all the power of the ſtate is in their poſſeſſion. Conſpirators muſt proceed with caution, becauſe they are deſtitute of expedients; and ſince at preſent all tranſactions are more eaſily diſcovered, thoſe who form deſigns againſt a government are generally detected before they can adjuſt their ſchemes.

CHAP. XXII.

The Weakneſs of the Eaſtern Empire.

PHOCAS amidſt the general confuſion of affairs, being unſettled in his new dignity, HERACLIUS came from Africa, and cauſed him

to

to be murdered; at the ſame time he found the provinces invaded and the legions deſtroyed.

As ſoon as this prince had, in ſome meaſure, remedied theſe diſaſters, the Arabians quitted their own country, to extend the empire and religion which MOHAMMED had founded by their co-operation.

No people ever made ſo rapid a progreſs; for they immediately conquered Syria, Paleſtine, Egypt, and Africa, and then turned their hoſtilities againſt the Perſians.

God permitted his religion to be laid low, in ſo many places where it once had been predominant; not that it now ceaſed to be the object of his providential care, but becauſe it always either in its ſtate of glory or depreſſion produces its natural effect, which is the ſanctification of the ſoul.

The welfare of religion has no ſimilitude to the proſperity of empires, and we are told by a celebrated author, that it may well be diſtempered, ſince malady itſelf is the true ſtate of a chriſtian; to which we may add, that the humiliations and diſperſion of the church, the deſtructions of her temples, and the perſecutions of her martyrs, are eminent ſeaſons of her glory; but when ſhe appears triumphant to the eyes of the world, ſhe is generally ſinking in adverſity.

We are not to have recourſe to enthuſiaſm alone to clear up this memorable event of the Arabian conqueſts, which ſpread through ſo many countries: the Saracens had been long diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed among the auxiliaries of Rome, and Perſia; and they, as well as the Oſroanians, were the experteſt archers in the world. Alexander Severus and Maximin had engaged them as much as poſſible in their ſervice, and they were extremely uſeful in the wars with the Germans, to whom their arrows were fatal at a great diſtance. The Goths themſelves *, in the reign of Valens, were incapable of reſiſting them: in a word, they at that time were the beſt cavalry in the world.

We have already obſerved, that the legions raiſed in Europe were much preferable to thoſe of Aſia, but it was directly contrary with reſpect to the cavalry; I mean that of the Parthians, the Oſroanians, and the Saracens. This was the power that ſtopped the full career of the Roman conqueſts, becauſe, after the death of Antiochus, a new nation of Tartars, who had the beſt cavalry of any people, made themſelves maſters of the Upper Aſia.

This cavalry was heavy †, and that of Europe light, quite contrary to the preſent nature of their military equipage. Holland and Friſeland were not as yet won from the waters; and ‡ Germany was full of woods, lakes, and

* Zozim. lib. iv.

† See the account given by Zoſimus of the cavalry of Aurelian, and that of Palmyra. See likewiſe what Ammian Marcellinus relates of the Perſian cavalry.

‡ The greateſt part of that country was then covered with water, but the art of man has ſince made it habitable and commodious.

marſhes,

marſhes, where the cavalry were of little importance.

When a free paſſage was opened to the great rivers, the ſtagnant waters ſhrunk from thoſe marſhes, and Germany aſſumed a new ſurface. Many changes were effected by the works of Valentinian * on the Necker, and thoſe of the Romans on the Rhine; and commerce being once eſtabliſhed, thoſe countries which did not originally produce horſes †, began to propagate the breed, and the inhabitants made great uſe of thoſe animals.

Conſtantine ‡, the ſon of Heraclius, having been poiſoned, and his ſon Conſtance ſlain in Sicily, CONSTANTINE the bearded, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded to the empire; but the grandees of the eaſtern provinces being aſſembled on this occaſion, were determined to crown the other brothers of this prince jointly with himſelf; alledging, that as it was indiſpenſably neceſſary for them to believe in the Trinity, ſo it was reaſonable they ſhould be governed by three emperors.

The Grecian hiſtory is crowded with proceedings as extraordinary as this, and a low turn of mind being then characteriſtic of that nation, their former wiſdom was no longer conſpicuous in their actions, and the empire became a ſcene

* See Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxvii.

† Cæſar repreſents the German horſes as too ſmall, and good for little.

‡ Zonaras's life of Conſtantine the Bearded.

of

of troubles and revolutions, to which it was impoſſible to aſſign any preparatory motives.

An univerſal bigotry had ſtupified and emaſculated the whole empire. Conſtantinople was was the only place in the eaſt where chriſtianity was predominant, and likewiſe, where the puſillanimous indolence, and degrading ſoftneſs of the Aſiatic nations, were blended with devotion itſelf. Of a thouſand inſtances that might be alledged, I ſhall only mention the conduct of Philippicus the general of Maurice's army, who being on the point of charging the enemy in the field, burſt into tears * when he ſuddenly conſidered what numbers of mankind were then to be deſtroyed.

The tears of the Arabians † flowed from a very different ſource, when they wept with regret that their general had agreed to a truce which fruſtrated their intended effuſion of chriſtian blood.

There is a total difference between an army of fanatics, and another of bigots; and it evidently appeared in a late memorable revolution, in which Cromwell's army reſembled the Arabians, whilſt the Iriſh and Scotiſh forces were like the Greeks.

A groſs ſuperſtition which debaſes the mind as effectually as true religion exalts it, had re-

* Hiſtory of the emperor Maurice by Theophylact, lib. ii. c. iii.

† Ockley's hiſtory of the conqueſt of Syria, Perſia, and Egypt, by the Saracens.

duced

duced all virtue, and devout confidence in the Deity, to a ſtupid veneration for images; and hiſtory preſents us with generals who would raiſe a ſiege, * or ſurrender a city for † the gallant acquiſition of a relick.

Chriſtianity degenerated under the Grecian empire into as many corruptions as were intermixed with it in our time by the Muſcovites, till the Czar, Peter the firſt, new modelled that nation, and introduced more changes into the dominions he governed than are uſually eſtabliſhed in thoſe which conquerors uſurp.

We may eaſily believe the Greeks were infected with idolatry. There can be no ſuſpicion that the Italians and Germans were but coldly devoted to external worſhip; and yet when the Greek Hiſtorians take notice of the contempt expreſs'd by the Italians for images and relics, one would be apt to compare them with the modern zealots againſt Calvin. Nicetas informs us, that the Germans, in their march to the Holy Land, were received by the Armenians as friends, becauſe they did not offer any adoration to images. Now, if the Italians and Germans did not ſufficiently reverence images, in the apprehenſion of the Greeks, what an enormous veneration muſt then be paid to them by this people?

The eaſt was on the point of being made the ſcene of ſuch a revolution, as happened about

* Life of Lacapena by Zonaras.

† Life of John Comnenus by Nicetas.

two centuries ago in the weſt, when, upon the revival of learning, the abuſes and corruptions in religion became evident to all, and as every perſon was inquiſitive after a proper remedy, ſo there were ſome ſo bold and untractable as to rend the church by diviſions, inſtead of reſtoring it to its original purity by a due reformation.

LEO ISAURUS, CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, and LEO his ſon were implacable againſt images, and when the worſhip of them had been re-eſtabliſhed by the empreſs Irene, LEO the Arminian, MICHAEL the ſtammerer, and THEOPHILUS, aboliſhed them again. Theſe princes imagined they could not moderate that worſhip unleſs they deſtroyed it effectually; they likewiſe turned their hoſtilities againſt the Monks *, who incommoded the ſtate, and as their proceedings were always carried into extremes, they endeavoured to exterminate that fraternity inſtead of regulating them in a proper manner.

The monks † being accuſed of idolatry by thoſe who favoured the new opinions, retorted, in their turn, upon their adverſaries, and accuſed

* Valens, many years before this event, made a law to compel the monks to ſerve the government in the army in times of war, and cauſed all who diſobeyed that injunction, to be ſlain.

† Theſe circumſtances relating to the monks, cannot fix any criminal imputation on their order in general; for it would be unjuſt to repreſent an inſtitution as pernicious, becauſe it may happen to be abuſed in ſome particular countries and at certain periods of time.

them

them of magical practices, * and then calling upon the people to behold the churches, that were diveſted of images, and the other furniture, which, till that time had been the objects of adoration, they created a belief in their flock, that theſe holy places, muſt certainly be profaned by daily ſacrifices to Dæmons.

The controverſy relating to images, was connected with very delicate circumſtances, which kindled it into a raging flame, and in the event made perſons of ſolid judgment incapable of propoſing a moderate worſhip. The diſpute included the tender article of power, and the monks having ſeized it, in conſequence of their ſpiritual uſurpations, they could neither enlarge nor maintain it but by making daily additions to the acts of external adoration, wherein they were ſo conſiderably intereſted. For this reaſon all oppoſitions to the eſtabliſhment of images were conſidered as ſo many hoſtilities againſt themſelves, and when they had ſucceeded in their pretenſions their power was no longer limitable.

This period was remarkable for ſuch a conjuncture as happened ſome centuries afterwards in the warm diſagreement between Barlaam and the Monks of that time, which brought the empire to the verge of deſtruction. The ſubject of the diſpute was whether the light which encircled Jeſus Chriſt on mount Tabor was

* Leo the grammarian's lives of Leo the Arminian, and Theophilus. Suidas, under the article of Conſtantine the ſon of Leo.

created

created or not. The Monks indeed were indifferent as to either part of the queſtion in debate, but as Barlaam made a direct attack upon that fraternity, they found it conſiſtent with their intereſt to aſſert that light to be uncreated.

The war which thoſe emperors who were called Iconoclaſts, declared againſt the Monks, revived ſome particular principles of government. And offered a plauſible pretence for employing the public revenue, for the public advantage, and for diſengaging the ſtate from every inconvenience that encumbred it.

When I conſider the profound ignorance into which the Grecian prieſts had plunged the laity, it ſeems natural to compare the former to thoſe Scythians mentioned by Herodotus, * who cauſed the eyes of their ſlaves to be plucked out, that their attention might not be diverted, when they were churning milk for their maſters.

When the empreſs Theodora had re-eſtabliſhſhed the uſe of images, the Monks immediately began to corrupt the public devotion, and proceeded even to oppreſs the ſecular clergy: they thruſt themſelves into every beneficial ſee, † and gradually excluded all eccleſiaſtics from epiſcopal promotion. By this proceeding they became unſupportable; and if we draw a parallel between them and the latin clergy, and compare the conduct of our Popes with that of the patriarchs of Conſtantinople, we ſhall ſee in our

* Lib. iv. † Vide Pachymer. lib. viii.

pontifs and clergy, a ſet of men altogether as judicious as the others were irrational.

We are preſented with a ſurprizing contradiction in human nature, when we conſider that the miniſters of religion among the ancient Romans, when they were not made incapable of public employments and civil ſociety, were but little ſolicitous about either; and that after the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity the eccleſiaſtics, who were moſt ſecluded from temporal affairs, engaged in them with the greateſt moderation; but when the Monks, in the declenſion of the empire, became the ſole clergy, theſe people who were forbidden by a more particular profeſſion, to intermeddle with the tranſactions of ſtate, embraced all opportunities that could poſſibly introduce them into the government, and never ceaſed to fill every place with confuſion, and to diſcompoſe the world which they pretended to renounce.

There was not any affair of the empire, any particular peace or war, any truce or negotiation, or any private treaty of marriage capable of completion without the miniſtration of theſe Monks; they crowded into the cabinets of princes, and compoſed the greateſt part of the national aſſemblies.

The calamities which reſulted from this irreligious officiouſneſs are inconceivable: theſe eccleſiaſtic ſtateſmen infuſed an indolent inſignificance into the minds of princes, and communicated a taint of imprudence to their beſt actions.

actions. Whilſt Baſilius employed his employed his naval forces in erecting a church to the honour of St. Michael *, he abandoned Sicily to the depredations of the Saracens, and ſuffered them to take Syracuſe; but leſt he ſhould be ſingular in that proceeding, Leo, his ſucceſſor, conſigned his fleet to the ſame employment, and permitted the Barbarians to poſſeſs themſelves of Tauromenia and the iſland of Lemnos.

Andronicus Palæologus † entirely neglected his maritime power, becauſe he had been aſſured God was ſo well ſatisfied with his zeal for the church's peace, that his enemies would never preſume to invade his dominions by ſea. He was even apprehenſive that the Deity would call him to a ſtrict account for the time he devoted to the neceſſary affairs of ſtate, and deducted from ſpiritual attentions.

The Greeks being very loquacious, great diſputants, and naturally inclinable to ſophiſtry, were perpetually incumbring religion with controverſial points; and as the Monks were in great reputation in a court which was always weak in proportion to its corruption, that court, and thoſe Monks mutually communicated infection to each other; in conſequence of which, the emperors devoted all their thoughts, ſometimes to calm, and frequently to inflame theological diſputes, which were always obſerved to be

* See the lives of Baſilius and Leo by Zonaras and Nicephorus.

† Pachymer. lib. vii.

moſt frivolous when they were debated with the greateſt warmth.

Michael Palæologus *, whoſe reign was ſo infeſted by controverſies in religion, growing ſenſible of the melancholy devaſtations committed by the Turks in Aſia, ſaid with a ſigh, that the raſh zeal of ſome perſons, who, by exclaiming againſt his conduct had exaſperated his ſubjects againſt him, made it neceſſary for him to employ all his cares to accompliſh his own preſervation, and compelled him to be a tame ſpectator of the ruin of ſeveral provinces. I contented myſelf, ſaid he, with providing for the ſecurity of thoſe diſtant parts, by the miniſtration of governors, who being either corrupted by the enemy, or apprehenſive of puniſhment, never acquainted me with the unhappy ſituation of the people with whoſe welfare they were intruſted.

The patriarchs of Conſtantinople had aſſumed an unlimited power; and as the emperors and their grandees generally retired to the churches, when the people were ſpirited up to inſurrections, the Patriarchs had conſequently an opportunity of delivering them up to the popular fury, and never failed to exerciſe this power as they were directed by any particular fancy, by which means they always became the arbiters of public affairs, though in a very indirect manner.

* Pachymer. lib. vii. c. xxix. We have had recourſe to the tranſlation of the preſident Couſin.

When

When the elder Andronicus * cauſed the Patriarch to be admoniſhed not to intermeddle with the tranſactions of ſtate, but to confine his attention to ſpiritual affairs, ſuch a requeſt, replied that imperious prieſt, is as if the body ſhould ſay to the ſoul, I do not claim any community with you, and have no occaſion for your aſſiſtance in the exerciſe of my functions.

Such monſtrous pretenſions became inſupportable to princes, and the Patriarchs were frequently diveſted of their ſees. But ſuch a proceeding, in a ſuperſtitious nation, who deteſted all the eccleſiaſtical functions of the Patriarch whom they conſidered as an intruder, produced continual ſchiſms, each particular Patriarch, the old, the new, and the laſt elected, being ſupported by his own ſet of partiſans.

Such contentions as theſe were much more pernicious than any diſagreements on points of doctrine, becauſe they reſembled an hydra to whom every defeat was a renovation.

The rage of diſputation became ſo natural to the Greeks, that Cantacuzenus †, when he took Conſtantinople, found the emperor John and his empreſs engaged in a council which had been ſummoned againſt ſome adverſaries of the Monks: and when Mohammed the ſecond beſieged that city ‡, the emperor could not ſup-

* Palæologus. See the hiſtory of the two emperors of this name written by Cantacuzenus, lib. i. c. 50.

† Cantacuzen. lib. iii. c. 99.

‡ Hiſt. of the laſt Palæologi by Ducas.

preſs the theological animoſities, and the council of Florence* engaged the general attention much more than the Turkiſh army.

As every perſon, in common diſputes, is ſenſible he may be deceived, a tenacious and untractable ſpirit ſeldom prevails to any extreme, but in thoſe controverſies where religion is the ſubject, for there, as every perſon from the nature of the point in debate becomes perſuaded that his own opinion is true, he grows exaſperated againſt thoſe, who, inſtead of concurring with his ſentiments, endeavour to make him a convert to their own.

Thoſe who may happen to read the hiſtory written by Pachymerus, will be effectually convinced of the unalterable inability of divines to accommodate their own diſagreements, and will ſee an emperor † who ſpent his days in aſſembling people of that claſs liſtning to their diſputations and reproaching them for the inflexibility of their opinions: they will likewiſe behold another engaged with a hydra of controverſies that were perpetually riſing to new life, and will be ſenſible that the ſame pacific methods and perſevering patience, the ſame inclination to finiſh their contentions; in a word, the

* The queſtion in debate was, whether a congregation, who heard maſs from a prieſt who had conſented to pacific meaſures, ought not to have fled from him as if he had been a deſtructive flame: the great church was accounted a profane temple, and the monk Gennadius hurled his anathema's againſt all who were deſirous of peace.

† Andronicus Palæologus.

ſame

ſame artleſs pliancy to their intrigues joined with the ſame deference to their averſions will never reconcile theſe implacable eccleſiaſtics while the world endures.

We ſhall preſent the reader with a remarkable inſtance of the diſpoſition we have been deſcribing: the Partiſans of the patriarch Arſenus *, were prevailed upon, by the ſollicitations of the emperor, to come into a treaty with thoſe who were in the intereſt of the patriarch Joſeph. This treaty ſpecified that both parties ſhould write down their ſeveral pretenſions, and then throw the two papers which contained them into a pan of live coals, and if one of them ſhould remain unconſumed, they were then to acquieſce with that determination from heaven; but if both ſhould happen to be burnt, the parties were no longer to perſiſt in their demands. The fire deſtroyed the two papers, the factions were reconciled, and the peace continued for a day. The next morning they pretended that the renunciation of their claims ought to flow from an internal perſuaſion, and not from chance, and from that moment the contention was renewed with greater animoſity than ever.

The diſputes of divines ſhould always be conſidered with great attention; but at the ſame time this ought to be concealed as much as poſſible, becauſe, any viſible ſolicitude to calm the contending parties never fails to credit their ſingularities, and conſequently tempts them to

* Pachymer. lib. vii.

believe their ſentiments are of that importance as to comprehend the welfare of the ſtate and the ſecurity of the ſovereign.

It is altogether as impracticable to decide the diſagreements of clergymen by attending to their affected ſubtilties, as it would be to aboliſh duels by erecting a court, with a delegation to trace a point of honour through all its refinements.

Such was the imprudence of the Greek emperors, that when a religious controverſy had been lulled aſleep by time, they again awakened it in all its rage. Juſtinian, Heraclius, and Manuel Comnenus propoſed articles of faith to their eccleſiaſtics and laity who would certainly have been deceived in the truth though it had flowed from the lips of thoſe princes in all its purity. And as they were always defective in forms, and generally in eſſentials, and grew deſirous of diſplaying their penetration, which they might have manifeſted to more advantage in other affairs confided to their judgment; they engaged in vain diſputes on the nature of God, who, as he withdraws himſelf from the proud curioſity of the learned, ſo he vails the majeſty of his exiſtence as effectually from the great men of the earth.

'Tis an error to believe any human power can be abſolute and infallible in theſe reſpects, for ſuch there never was, nor ever will be imparted to any mortal. The largeſt extent of temporal authority is confined to certain limitations,

tions, and when the grand ſeignior ordains a new taxation at Conſtantinople, the univerſal murmurs of his ſubjects make him ſenſible of thoſe reſtrictions of his power which till then were concealed from his obſervation. A Perſian monarch may indeed compel a ſon to murder his father, or oblige a parent to plunge his dagger into the heart of his child, but he can never force his ſubjects to drink wine. There is a general principle in every nation which is the invariable baſis of power, and when once this principle is too much loaded, it infallibly ſhrinks into ſmaller dimenſions.

An unacquaintedneſs with the true nature and limits of eccleſiaſtical and ſecular power, was the moſt pernicious ſource of all the calamities that befel the Greeks, and involved both prieſts and people in perpetual errors.

This great diſtinction, which conſtitutes all the tranquillity of a nation, is founded not only on religion, but on reaſon and nature, which never confound things really diſtinct in themſelves, and which can only ſubſiſt in conſequence of that very diſtinction.

Though the prieſthood among the ancient Romans did not form a ſeparate body, yet the diſtinction we have been repreſenting, was as well known to them, as it can be to us. Clodius had conſecrated the houſe of Cicero to the goddeſs of Liberty, but when that great orator returned from his exile, he did not fail to demand it as his lawful property: the Pontifs were of opinion,

opinion, that, if it had been ſo conſecrated without an expreſs order obtained from the people, it might be reſtored to him without any violation of religion. They have declared ſays Cicero *, that they only examined the validity of the conſecration and not the law enacted by the people, and that they had decided the firſt article as pontifs, and the ſecond, in the quality of ſenators.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Duration of the Eaſtern Empire accounted for. Its Deſtruction.

AFTER this account of the Grecian empire, it ſeems natural to enquire how it could poſſibly ſubſiſt ſo long, and I believe ſufficient reaſons may be aſſigned for that duration.

The Arabians having invaded the empire and conquered ſeveral provinces, their chiefs became competitors for the Khalifat, and the flame of their firſt zeal only burſt out in civil diſſenſions.

The ſame people having conquered Perſia and afterwards divided and weakened themſelves in that country, the Greeks were no longer obliged to keep the principal forces of the empire ſtationed on the banks of Euphrates.

Callinicus an architect, who came from Syria to Conſtantinople, invented an artificial flame, which was eaſily ventilated into a point by

* Epiſt. ad Attic. lib. iv.

means

means of a tube, and was of ſuch a peculiar nature, that water and every other ſubſtance which extinguiſh common fire did but increaſe the violence of this. The Greeks were in poſſeſſion of it for ſeveral years, and managed it in ſuch a manner as made it capable of firing their enemies ſhips, particularly the Arabian fleet which ſailed from Africa or the Syrian coaſts to invade them even in Conſtantinople.

This flame was ranked among the ſecrets of ſtate, and Conſtantinople Porphyrogenitus in his treatiſe on the Adminiſtration of the empire, and which he delicated to his ſon Romanus, adviſes him to tell the Barbarians, when they ſhould deſire him to give them any of the Grecian fire, that he was not permitted to part with it, becauſe an angel, who preſented it the emperor Conſtantine, commanding him to refuſe it to all other nations, and that thoſe who had diſobeyed that injunction were conſumed by a fire from heaven the moment they entered into the church.

Conſtantinople was the greateſt, and almoſt the only city of commerce in the world; for the Goths on the one ſide, and the Arabians on the other, had ruined all manner of traffic and induſtry in every other part. The ſilken manufactures were brought thither from Perſia, and were even neglected in that country ſince the Arabian invaſion. We may add to this that the Greeks were maſters at ſea, which opened an immenſe flow of riches into the ſtate, and

proved an inexhauſtible ſource of relief in all its emergencies; and if at any time there ſeemed to be any declenſion of the public affluence, it was immediately recruited by a new acceſſion.

We ſhall juſtify this obſervation by a remarkable inſtance: the elder Andronicus Comnenus, tho' he was the Nero of the Greeks, yet amidſt all his vices he was indefatigable in the ſuppreſſion of injuſtice and vexations in the grandees, and it is a known fact, that during the three years of his reign he reſtored ſeveral provinces to their ancient ſplendor.

In fine, the Barbarians having once fixed their ſettlement on the banks of the Danube, were no longer ſo formidable to the empire as before, but rather became uſeful to it as a barrier againſt other barbarous nations. And thus whilſt the empire was haraſſed by any bad government, ſome particular incidents were always in reſerve for its relief. Thus we ſee Spain and Portugal in a condition, amidſt all their weakneſs, to ſupport themſelves with the treaſures of the Indies: the temporal dominions of the Pope owe their ſafety to the reſpect paid to their ſovereign, and the rovers of Barbary derive their ſecurity from the obſtructions they faſten upon the commerce of leſſer * nations, and the very piracies of theſe people on inferior ſtates, make them ſerviceable in their turn to the greater.

* They infeſt the navigation of the Italians in the Mediterranean.

The Turkiſh empire is at preſent in the ſame ſtate of declenſion to which that of the Greeks was formerly * ſunk, but in all probability it will ſtill ſubſiſt a long time; for ſhonld any prince endanger it by purſuing his conqueſts to an immoderate extent, it will always be defended by the three trading powers of Europe, who are too ſenſible of their own intereſts ever to be unconcerned ſpectators of its fall.

It is happy for theſe trading powers, that God has permitted Turks and Spaniards to be in the world, for of all nations they are the moſt proper to enjoy a great empire with inſignificance.

In the time of Baſilius Porphyrogenitus, the Arabian power came to its period in Perſia. Mohammed the ſon of Sambreal, who was then ſovereign of that empire, invited four thouſand Turks from the north, in the quality of auxiliaries; but, upon a ſudden diſſatisfaction conceived by this prince, he ſent an army againſt them, which was ſoon put to flight by the Turks. Mohammed, in the height of his indignation againſt his puſillanimous ſoldiers, gave orders that they ſhould paſs before him habited like

* All projects of this nature againſt the Turks, and particularly ſuch as have any ſimilitude to that which was formed in the papacy of Leo the tenth, by which it was concerted, that the emperor ſhould march to Conſtantinople through Boſnia; the king of France through Albania and Greece, whilſt the maritime powers were to embark at their ſeveral ports; I ſay, ſuch projects were never ſeriouſly intended, or were framed at leaſt by thoſe who were altogether unacquainted with the true conſtitution of Europe.

women;

women; but they diſappointed his anger and joined the Turks: upon which the united army immediately diſlodged a garriſon which was ſtationed to guard a bridge over the Araxes, and opened a free paſſage to a vaſt body of their countrymen.

When they have extended their conqueſts through Perſia, they ſpread themſelves from eaſt to weſt over the territories of the empire, and Romanus Diogenes, who endeavoured to oppoſe their progreſs, became their priſoner; after which they ſubdued all the Aſiatic dominions of the Greeks down to the Boſphorus.

Some time after this event the Latins invaded the weſtern regions, in the reign of Alexis Comnenus. An unhappy ſchiſm had for a long time infuſed an inplacable hatred between the nations of two different communions, and would have produced fatal effects much ſooner, had not the Italians been more attentive to check the German emperors whom they feared, than they were to diſtreſs the Greek emperors whom they only hated.

Affairs were in this ſituation, when all Europe imbibed a religious belief, that the place where Jeſus Chriſt was born, as well as that where he accompliſhed his paſſion, being profaned by the infidels, the ſureſt atonement they could make for their own ſins, would be to diſpoſſeſs thoſe Barbarians of their acquiſitions by force of arms. Europe at that time ſwarmed with people who were fond of war, and had many crimes to expiate,

expiate, and as it was propoſed to them to obtain their remiſſion by indulging their prevailing paſſion, every man armed himſelf for the cruſade.

When this conſecrated army arrived in the eaſt, they beſieged and made themſelves maſters of Nice, which they reſtored to the Greeks; and whilſt the infidels were ſeized with a general conſternation, Alexis and John Comnenus chaſed the Turks to the banks of Euphrates.

But as advantagious as theſe cruſades might be to the Greeks, the emperors trembled to ſee ſuch a ſucceſſion of fierce heroes and formidable armies marching thro' the heart of their dominions.

This induced them to leave nothing unattempted that might create a diſſatisfaction in Europe at theſe expeditions; and the votaries to the croſs were continually enſnared by every inſtance of treachery that could poſſibly be expected from a timorous enemy.

It muſt be acknowledged that the French, who promoted theſe expeditions, had not practiſed any conduct that could render their preſence very ſupportable; and we may judge by the invectives of Anna Comnena againſt our nation, that we act without much precaution in foreign countries, and were at that time chargeable with the ſame exceptionable freedoms we are reproached for at this day.

A French nobleman was going to ſeat himſelf upon the emperor's throne, but earl Bald-

win

win caught him by the arm; you ought to know, ſaid he, that when we are in any country whatever, 'tis proper to comply with the cuſtoms that prevail there. What a clown is He, replyed the other, to ſit whilſt ſo many captains are ſtanding?

The Germans, who came after the French, and were the moſt civil and undeſigning people in the world *, ſuffered very ſeverely for our follies, and were continually embarraſſed with a ſet of diſpoſitions that had been ſufficiently irritated by our countrymen againſt all foreigners.

In fine, the averſion of thoſe eaſtern people was worked up to the higheſt extreme; and this with ſome incivilities offered to the Venetian merchants, operating upon the ambition, avarice, and falſe zeal of that nation as well as the French, determined them to form a cruſade againſt the Greeks.

The united army of theſe two European nations found their enemies altogether as puſillanimous and unwarlike as the Chineſe appeared to the Tartars in our time. The Frenchmen ridiculed their effeminate habit †, and walked through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople dreſſed in flowered mantles, and carrying pens and paper in their hands, in deriſion to that nation, who had degenerated from all military diſcipline;

* Hiſtory of Manuel Comnenus by Nicetas, lib. i.

† Nicet. Hiſtory of the eaſtern tranſactions of the taking of Conſtantinople, c. 3.

and

and when the war was over, they refuſed to admit any Greeks into their troops.

The Venetians and French ſoon after declared for the weſtern empire, and transferred the imperial throne to the earl of Flanders, whoſe dominions being very diſtant, could not create any jealouſly in the Italians. The Greeks ſtill ſupported themſelves in the eaſt, being ſeparated from the Turks by a chain of mountains, and divided from the Italians by the ſea.

The Latins, who found no obſtacles in their conqueſts, met with many in their ſettlement. The Greeks returned from Aſia into Europe, retook Conſtantinople, and ſeized the greateſt part of the eaſt.

This new empire however was but a faint ſhadow of the former, and had no ſolid power for its baſis.

It comprehended few territories in Aſia, beſides the provinces on this ſide the Meander and Sangar, and moſt of thoſe in Europe were parcel'd out into ſmall ſovereignties.

We may add to this, that during the ſixty years the Latins were poſſeſſed of Conſtantinople, the conquered people being diſperſed and the victors engaged in war, all commerce was tranſferred to the cities in Italy, and Conſtantinople became diveſted of its riches.

The commerce even of the inland countries was carried on by the Latins. The Greeks *, who were but newly re-eſtabliſhed, and were

* Cantacuzen. lib. iv.

likewiſe alarmed with innumerable apprehenſions, became deſirous to ingratiate themſelves with the Genoeſe, by granting them a permiſſion to traffic without paying any duties; and as they were unwilling to irritate the Venetians, who had not accepted of peace, but only conſented to a truce, theſe were likewiſe diſcharged from the ſame payments.

Though Manuel Comnenus had ſuffered the navigation of the empire to decline before Conſtantinople was taken, yet it could be eaſily re-eſtabliſhed, ſince commerce ſtill ſubſiſted; but when all maritime affairs became entirely neglected under the new empire, the miſchief grew remedileſs, becauſe the power of the empire was daily declining.

This ſtate, which extended its dominion over many iſlands, and was interſected by the ſea, which likewiſe ſurrounded ſeveral of its territories, was entirely unprovided of ſhips. The former communication no longer ſubſiſted between the provinces: the inhabitants * were obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the inland parts from pyrates; and when they thought themſelves ſafe in ſuch a ſanctuary, they ſoon found it neceſſary to retire into the fortreſſes, to preſerve themſelves from the hoſtilities of the Turks.

Theſe barbarous people were at that time engaged in a peculiar war againſt the Greeks, and might properly be called hunters of men. They

* Pachymer. lib. vii.

ſometimes

ſometimes marched two hundred leagues into a country to accompliſh their depredations; and as they were in ſubjection to ſeveral ſultans *, it was impoſſible to purchaſe a peace from every tribe; and to procure it from any particular parties, was altogether inſignificant. Theſe Barbarians had embraced Mohammediſm, and their zeal for that religion ſtrangely prompted them to ravage the chriſtian territories: beſides, as they were the moſt unamiable people on earth †, and married to wives as diſagreeable as themſelves, the moment they were acquainted with the Grecian women, all the reſt of that ſex became inſupportable to them; and thoſe beauteous females were continually expoſed to the brutal paſſion of theſe Barbarians ‡. In fine,

* Cantacuzen. lib. iii. c. 96. Pachymer. lib. xi. c. 9.

† This circumſtance gave birth to a northern tradition related by Jornandes the Goth: that Phillimer, king of the Goths, having made an inrode into the Cetic territories, found ſeveral women who were ſorcereſſes, and drove them to a great diſtance from his army; after which, thoſe female Magicians wandered in the deſerts, where that ſpecies of Dæmons, called Incubi, conſorted with them, and by their amorous familiarities produced the nation of the Huns. *Genus ferociſſimum, quod fuit primum inter paludes, minutum, tetrum, atque exile, nec aliud voce notum, niſi quæ humani ſermonis imaginem aſſignabat.* i. e. A fierce and ſavage people, who lived ſequeſtered from the reſt of mankind, among fens and marſhes, ghaſtly and haggard in their perſons, and whoſe voices were only an imperfect articulation of human ſpeech.

‡ Michael Ducas's hiſt. of John Manuel, John and Conſtantine, c. b. Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus obſerves, at the beginning of his extract of the embaſſies, that when

they had been always accuſtomed to invade the properties of other people, and were the ſame Huns who had formerly involved the Roman empire in ſo many calamities.

The Turks broke in, like a deluge, upon the ſhattered remains of the Grecian empire in Aſia; and thoſe of the inhabitants who were happy enough to eſcape their fury, fled before them to the Boſphorus, from whence ſuch as could accommodate themſelves with ſhips, ſailed to thoſe parts of the empire that were ſituated in Europe, which occaſioned a conſiderable addition to the number of the inhabitants, tho' they were diminiſhed in a ſhort period of time: for civil wars began to rage with ſo much fatality, that the two factions invited ſeveral Turkiſh ſultans to their aſſiſtance *, with this extravagant and inhuman ſtipulation, that all the people of the country, who were made captives from the oppoſite party, ſhould be carried into ſlavery; by which means each of thoſe factions concurred in the deſtructions of their own country with a view of ruining their adverſaries.

Bajazet having conquered all the other ſultans, the Turks would then have acted agreeably to their future behaviour in the reign of

the Barbarians came to Conſtantinople, the Romans ought to have been very cautious of ſhewing them the grandeur of their riches, and the beauty of their wives.

* See the hiſtory of the emperors John Palæologus and John Cantacuzenus, written by Cantacuzenus.

Moham-

Mohammed II, had not they been in danger of extermination by the Tartars.

I am now afraid to deſcribe the miſeries which reſulted from theſe revolutions; and ſhall only intimate, that the empire under its laſt monarchs, being contracted within the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, finiſhed its progreſs like the Rhine, which ſhrinks into a rivulet before it loſes itſelf in the ocean.



A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

SYLLA and EUCRATES.

SOME days after Sylla had reſigned the dictatorſhip, I was told the reputation I had among the philoſophers made him deſirous of ſeeing me. He was at his houſe on the Tibur, enjoying the firſt peaceful moments he had ever known. On coming before him, I felt nothing of that confuſion which the preſence of great men generally occaſions in us. And when we were alone, Sylla, ſaid I to him, you have then voluntarily reduced yourſelf to that middle condition of life, which to moſt men is an affliction. You have reſigned that command which your glory and your virtues gave you over all men. Fortune ſeems to be vexed that ſhe could not raiſe you to higher honours.

Eucrates, ſaid he, if the eyes of the whole univerſe are no longer fixed on me, it is the fault of human things, which have their preſcribed limits, and not owing to me. I imagined I had fulfilled my deſtiny, when I no longer had great things to atchieve. I was not made for governing in quiet an enſlaved people. I love to obtain victories, to found or overturn

ſtates, make alliances, puniſh uſurpers: but, as to the little ſubordinate branches of government, wherein middling geniuſes ſhew themſelves to ſo much advantage, the ſlow execution of the laws, the diſcipline of a tame militia, my ſoul could not employ itſelf in them.

It is very ſingular, ſaid I, that you ſhould have mixed ſo much delicacy with your ambition. We have ſeen many great men unaffected with the vain pomp and ſplendor which wait on rulers; but there have been very few inſenſible of the pleaſure of governing, and of having that reſpect, which is due only to the laws, paid to their humour.

And I, Eucrates, was never leſs ſatisfied, than when I ſaw myſelf abſolute maſter in Rome; when I looked round me, and found neither rival nor enemy. I thought it would be one day ſaid, that I had only chaſtiſed ſlaves. Would you, ſaid I to myſelf, have no more men in your country capable of being affected with your glory? And ſince you eſtabliſh deſpotiſm, don't you clearly ſee, that no prince can come after you ſo cowardly and deſpicable, whom flattery will not equal to you, and adorn with your name, your titles, and even your virtues?

My lord, you have quite changed the idea I had formed of your conduct. I thought you had ambition, but not a love of glory: I ſaw very well that you had a high ſpirit, but I did not ſuſpect that you had a great ſoul: your whole

whole life ſeemed to diſcover you to be one preyed on by luſt of power, and who, full of the moſt deſtructive paſſions chearfully loaded himſelf with the ſhame, the remorſe, and even the meanneſs attached to depotiſm. For, after all, you ſacrificed every thing to your power; you were feared by all the Romans; you diſcharged, without pity, the functions of the moſt terrible magiſtracy that ever ſubſiſted. The ſenate looked with dread on a defender ſo relentleſs. Some one ſaid to you, Sylla, how much Roman blood will you ſhed? Do you want to command bare walls? You then publiſhed thoſe Tables by which the life and death of every citizen were determined.

And it is the ſhedding ſo much blood that has enabled me to do the greateſt action of my whole life. Had I ruled the Romans with gentleneſs, what wonder, that wearineſs, diſguſt, or caprice ſhould make me reſign the government? But I laid down the dictatorſhip at a time when every one thought I entirely owed my ſafety to my being inveſted with it. I appeared before the Romans a citizen in the midſt of my citizens, and had the boldneſs to ſay to them, I am ready to give account of all the blood which I have ſhed for the republic; I will anſwer all who ſhall come to demand of me their fathers, their ſons, or their brothers. Every Roman was ſilent before me.

This great action which you ſpeak of, appears to me very imprudent. The aſtoniſhment, indeed

deed, into which you had juſt thrown the Romans, was of ſervice to you: but how could you dare to talk of vindicating yourſelf, and taking for judges perſons who had ſo much to revenge on you? Suppoſing your actions had been only ſeverities while you was in power, they became frightful crimes the moment you was out of power.

Do you call crimes, ſaid he, what ſaved the republic? Would you have had me quietly ſee ſenators betray the ſenate, for that people, who, imagining that liberty ought to be as extreme as ſlavery can be, wanted to aboliſh all authority? The people, kept under by the laws and the weight of the ſenate, have always endeavoured to overturn both. But he who is ſo ambitious as to ſerve them againſt the ſenate and the laws, had always ambition enough to become their maſter. It is thus we have ſeen an end put to ſo many republics of Greece and Italy.

To prevent a like evil, the ſenate hath always been obliged to employ this untractable people in war. It has been forced, againſt its inclination, to ravage the earth, and reduce ſo many nations, whoſe ſubjection is a burden to us. At preſent, when the univerſe can furniſh no more enemies againſt us, what would be the fate of the republic? And, without me, would the ſenate have been able to prevent the people, in their blind fury for liberty, from delivering themſelves up to Marius, or to the firſt tyrant who ſhould have given them hopes of independance?

The

The gods, who have given to moſt men a cowardly ambition, have attached to Liberty almoſt as many evils as to Slavery. But whatever may be the price of this noble Liberty, the gods muſt be paid it.

The ſea ſwallows up veſſels, and lays under water whole countries; yet it is uſeful to man.

Poſterity will decide of what Rome has not as yet ventured to examine: it will find, perhaps, that I have not ſhed blood enough, and that all the partiſans of Marius have not been proſcribed.

I muſt own, Sylla, you aſtoniſh me; How! was it to ſerve your country, that you ſpilled ſo much blood? and had you no attachment but to her?

Eucrates, ſaid he to me, I had never that predominant love for my Country, of which we find ſo many examples in the firſt ages of the republic: and I love Coriolanus, who carried fire and ſword to the very walls of his ungrateful city, and made every citizen repent the affront which every citizen had done him, as much as I do him who drove the Gauls from the capitol. I never piqued myſelf on being the ſlave, or the worſhiper, of a ſociety of my equals: and this ſo much boaſted love is a paſſion too popular for ſuch a high ſpirit as mine. All my actions proceeded from reflexion, and principally from the contempt which I entertained for men. You may judge by the manner in which I treated

the

the only great people in the world, how high my contempt was of all others.

I thought that while I was on the earth, I ought to be free. Had I been born among Barbarians, I ſhould have ſought to uſurp the throne, leſs to obtain command than to avoid obedience. Born in a Republic, I have acquired the glory of a conqueror, in ſeeking only that of a free man.

When I entered Rome with my troops, I breathed neither rage nor revenge. I paſſed ſentence, without hatred, but alſo without pity, on aſtoniſhed Romans. You were free, ſaid I; and you want to live ſlaves. No. Die; and you will have the advantage of dying Citizens of a free city.

To deprive of its liberty a city of which I was a citizen, I looked on as the greateſt of crimes. I puniſhed that crime; and was little concerned whether I ſhould be the good or the evil genius of the Republic. However, the government of our anceſtors has been re-eſtabliſhed; the people have expiated all the indignities they put on the nobles; fear has ſuſpended animoſities, and Rome never enjoyed ſuch perfect tranquillity.

This it was which determined me to all the bloody tragedies you have ſeen. Had I lived in thoſe happy days of the Republic, when the citizens, quiet in their houſes, preſented to the Gods a free ſoul, you would have ſeen me paſs my whole life in this retreat; which has coſt me ſo much blood and toil.

My

My lord, ſaid I to him, it is well for mankind, that Heaven has been ſparing in the number of ſuch men as you. Born for a middling ſtation, we are overpowered by ſublime geniuſes. One man's being raiſed above humanity, coſts all the reſt too dear.

You looked on the ambition of heroes as a common paſſion; and made no account of any but a reaſoning ambition. The inſatiable deſire of ruling, which you found in the heart of ſome citizens, made you reſolve to be an extraordinary man: love of liberty determined you to be terrible and cruel. Who would have thought, that a heroiſm founded on principle would be more deſtructive than a heroiſm founded on fury and impetuoſity? The Roman people, you ſay, beheld you unarmed, and made no attempt on your life. You have eſcaped one danger; a greater may await you. A grand offender may one day take advantage of your moderation, and confound you in the croud of a ſubjected people.

I have acquired a name, ſaid he, which ſuffices for my ſafety and the ſafety of the Roman people. That name prevents all attempts; there is no ambition, which does not ſtand in awe of it. Sylla lives; and his genius is more powerful than that of all the Romans. Sylla is ſurrounded by Chæronea, Orchomenus, and Signion; Sylla hath given every family in Rome a terrible example within itſelf: every Roman will have me always before him, and even in his

ſleep

ſleep I ſhall appear to him covered with blood; he will imagine he ſees the fatal Tables, and reads his name at the head of the proſcribed. My laws are murmured at in ſecret; they can never be effaced but by floods of Roman blood. Am not I in the midſt of Rome? You will ſtill find with me the javelin I had at Orchomenus, and the buckler I wore on the walls of Athens. Becauſe I have no lictors, am I the leſs Sylla? I have the ſenate, juſtice, and the laws for me; my genius, fortune, and glory are for the ſenate.

I own, ſaid I, that when a perſon has once made any one tremble, he almoſt always retains ſomething of the advantage he had over him.

Undoubtedly, ſaid he, I ſtruck men with aſtoniſhment; and that was a great deal. Review in your mind the ſtory of my life: you will ſee that I have drawn all from that principle; and that it has been the ſoul of all my actions. Call to mind my quarrel with Marius: I was ſtung with indignation to ſee a man of no name, proud of the meanneſs of his birth, attempt to pull down the firſt families in Rome, and confound them with Plebeians; and at this time I bore all the weight of a great ſoul. I was young, and I reſolved to put myſelf in a condition to call Marius to account for his inſults. For this end, I fought him with his own weapons, that is to ſay, by victories over the enemies of the Republic.

When I was forced, by the caprice of chance, to leave Rome, I purſued the ſame plan: I went

to make war on Mithridates; and laboured to deſtroy Marius by vanquiſhing the enemy of Marius. While I left that Roman to enjoy his power over the populace, I multiplied his mortifications, and forced him to go every day to the Capitol to return thanks to the Gods for ſucceſſes which drove him to diſtraction. I waged a war of reputation againſt him, a hundred times more cruel than what my legions made on the Barbarian king. Every word I ſpoke ſhewed my daringneſs, and my moſt inconſiderable actions, always full of haughtineſs, were fatal preſages for Marius. At laſt Mithridates ſued for peace; the terms were reaſonable; and had Rome been in quiet, and my fortune not ſtill wavering, I would have accepted them. But the bad ſtate of my affairs obliged me to make the terms ſtill harder; I demanded that he ſhould deſtroy his fleet, and reſtore to the kings his neighbours the territories he had taken from them. I leave you, ſaid I, the kingdom of your anceſtors; to you, who ought to thank me that I leave you the hand with which you ſigned an order for the execution of 100,000 Romans in one day. Mithridates was ſtruck motionleſs, and Marius trembled in the midſt of Rome.

This boldneſs, which was of ſuch ſervice to me againſt Mithridates, againſt Marius, againſt his ſon, againſt Theliſinus, againſt the people, which ſupported my dictatorſhip, alſo protected my life the day I reſigned the dictature; and that day inſures my liberty for ever.

My

My lord, ſaid I, Marius reaſoned in the ſame manner, when covered with the blood of his enemies and of the Romans, he gave proofs of that boldneſs which you have puniſhed. You have, it is true, a few more victories, and greater exceſſes on your ſide. But, in aſſuming the dictatorſhip, you ſet an example of the crime which you puniſhed. This is the example which will be followed, and not that of your moderation, which will only be admired.

When the Gods ſuffered Sylla with impunity to make himſelf Dictator at Rome, they proſcribed Liberty from it for ever. They muſt work too many miracles now to root out of the heart of every Roman leader the ambition of reigning. You have taught them, that there is a much ſurer way to arrive at deſpotiſm, and to maintain it without danger. You have divulged the fatal ſecret, and removed what alone makes good citizens in a Republic too rich and too great, deſpair of being able to oppreſs it.

He changed colour, and was ſilent for a moment. I am only afraid, ſaid he, with emotion, of one man, in whom I think I ſee many Marius's. Chance, or perhaps a more powerful deſtiny, made me ſpare him. My eyes are ever on him, I ſtudy his ſoul, where he hides deep purpoſes. But if he dare to form the deſign of commanding men whom I have made my equals, I ſwear by the Gods, I will puniſh his inſolence.

BRITISH MUSEUM 11JA77

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